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GERMAN CONSPIRACIES IN AMERICA

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From an American point of view
By an American

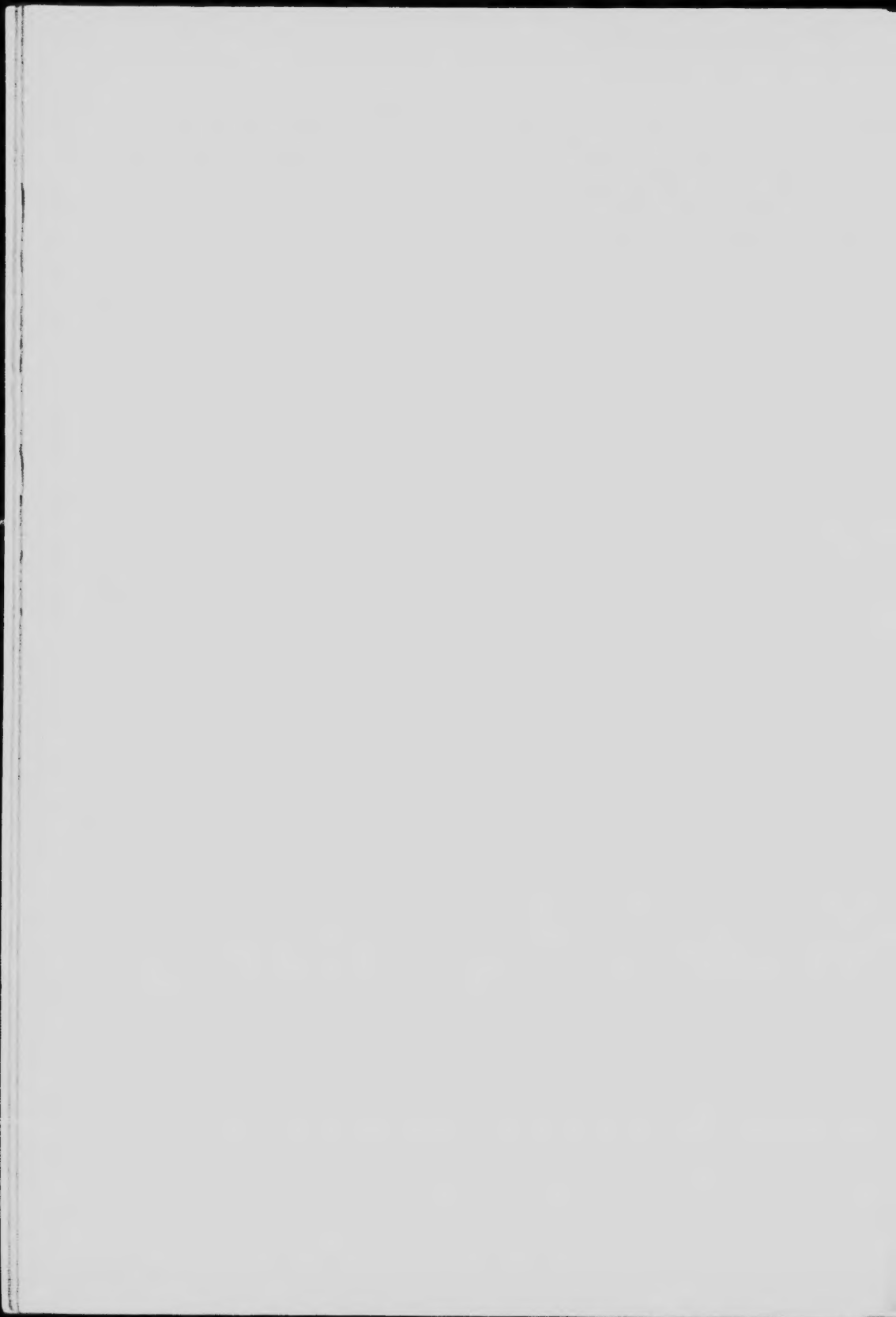
WILLIAM H. SKAGGS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THEODORE ANDREA COOK

THOMAS LANGTON
TORONTO

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TO
MY WIFE
PATRIOT AND HELPMEET



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INTRODUCTION

BY THEODORE ANDREA COOK

TO MR. WILLIAM H. SKAGGS.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been asked to say a few words at the beginning of the English edition of your book, and I shall say them to you. For the task of writing an introduction to another author's work is always difficult; but the pleasure of introducing you to your English readers is comparatively simple. On the one hand, I shall run no risk of misinterpreting your meaning; and on the other, you will make it perfectly clear that in more ways than one your attitude is not merely sympathetic but courageous, not merely descriptive but explanatory in the best and highest sense. And to tell you the truth we know singularly little about American conditions over here; so little, that the most elementary claims of courtesy demand that I should begin by telling you something about the audience who are so ready to welcome what you have to say.

They are already prejudiced in your favour by the knowledge that in 1861 you were born in Alabama and that you became mayor of your

native city only twenty-five years later. This was a good beginning for one whose fight against corrupt practices in 1886 was to attract national attention, whose advice to President Harrison as to Federal interference in Southern elections proved so valuable to all concerned, whose resolute campaign in favour of improved education for the South is of permanent benefit to the community at large. You gentlemen of the South have long been well aware of the true character of the German; and in the pages which follow, you have dealt so faithfully with Bernhardt that I need not remind you how peculiarly Prussian was his curious criticism of our foreign politics when he laughed at us for not trying to make permanent that temporary conflict between North and South which began the solidification of the United States as a Great Power. That process has been occasionally interrupted by difficulties which no one is better qualified than yourself to describe, and very possibly to ameliorate. I say "ameliorate" because I feel certain that such a book as yours has far more than a merely academic interest. You do not only reveal to us a great many unfamiliar factors in the very complicated situation of your country at the present day, but you record, for the future benefit of your own countrymen (as it seems to me), a complex plot against American freedom and American nationality which deserves their most serious considera-

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tion. That it is already arousing the attention of your highest authorities is clear, I think, from the practical suggestions just published for the increase of your military and naval strength. But it is worth noticing that those suggestions are the first official acknowledgment we have been able to observe that your Government has begun to realise the existence of a World-War, a very different thing from the usual struggle between two nations, or even from a conflict which was practically European from the moment Germany began it. I am also interested to read, during the week in which I write these lines, that your Treasury and your Departments of Justice, of the State, and of the Navy are all engaged in investigating the efforts of Germany to violate American neutrality and to conspire against the peace and dignity of the United States, apart from her attempts to engineer strikes, blow up steamers, forge passports, and do all those other acts and things which you have so vividly described. All this indicates very forcibly the justice of your contentions ; and more importance (for us) attaches to that indication than may possibly have occurred to you. I will try to explain why.

There is an American soldier who will be held in honour by every other soldier as long as the chivalrous comradeship of arms exists ; and he is known as Stonewall Jackson. I lay stress on

the "Stonewall," because there was an earlier Jackson, Andrew by name, who is your own special hero for reasons you appreciate ; whereas the later one belongs to all the world. The very names of his battles are poetry, as Newbolt has said, and his death is one of the most moving tragedies of war. To us Stonewall Jackson implies all the American soldier can be and can do on land. Afloat we share memories equally inspiring. It was in China seas that, when British seamen were hard pressed, an American commander went to their help. He stood not upon etiquette. He acted on the feeling, which was not more true then, perhaps, than it may one day be again, that "Blood is thicker than water." And gallantly did Sir George Chichester return the compliment when Admiral Dewey was in Manila Bay. If Germany had attacked Americans then, she would have had to fire across the Union Jack. To both these things we can add the memory of how we fought together against the Boxers in that Chinese Expedition when the Huns of 1914 made their first public appearance by special order of their Attila ; and both these things involved the true "Monroe Doctrine" which so enrages Germany and which even your own countrymen have sometimes misunderstood.

Read the original letters in your archives at Washington, and see how President Monroe explains his own meaning in the letter which

Thomas Jefferson received from him at Monticello on December 11, 1823.¹ When Monroe received from Rush, the American Minister in London, the despatches containing Canning's proposals concerning the Holy Alliance, he at once sent them with a letter of his own (dated Oakhill, October 17, 1823) to Jefferson and to Madison, asking for their advice. In accordance with that advice he framed the famous Seventh Annual Message of December 2, 1823, which was explained a few days later to his friends in the firm but faded handwriting which I have read and copied out with so much interest. Neither of his illustrious correspondents could be suspected of what were then called "English tendencies." For the first, one of the greatest political thinkers of the English-speaking race, was the man who drafted and signed the Declaration of Independence; the second was the writer of the *Federalist*; and both had worthily held the high office of President under difficult and even perilous circumstances. All three concurred in advocating the co-operation of the United States with Great Britain against all common enemies.

That principle was recognised in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It has had the sanction of every Cabinet and every congress of the United States.

¹ First printed in the *Fortnightly Review* (London) for September, 1898: "The Original Intention of the Monroe Doctrine."

To attack it would inevitably involve a war ; but it would not be a war between two English-speaking peoples. It is far from being incompatible with an expansion as great as that which has attended the nation by whose suggestion it was originally framed. Both Cuba and the Philippines, and the pressing questions raised by Mexican disturbances, have taught you also that it need not be limited to the American Continent of a Monroe or to the British Empire of a Canning.

A century of peace has now consecrated the ties between the two ; and on Christmas Eve, 1914, we were all reading the message from your Peace Centenary Committee, recalling how the Treaty of Ghent was signed just exactly a hundred years before, and how it marked " the close of what had happily proved to be the last war between English-speaking peoples of the earth." Your Committee, headed by Mr. Joseph Choate, pointed out that the site of that treaty was at that moment " the very centre of the terrible conflict that rages in Europe," and that the centenary was celebrated " in the midst of the most terrible and destructive war that history records." Your Committee emphasised the fact that for 100 years the United States had only been separated from the Dominions of the British Empire by an " undefended and unfortified line nearly four thousand miles in length," and they avowed their " emphatic faith

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in the supremacy of justice over force, of law over might."

Sir, whether you agree that my interpretation of the original Monroe Doctrine still holds good to-day, or whether, after this lapse of time, you would not wholly so endorse it, I cannot tell. But I believe that this interpretation will emerge, after Prussia has been conquered, as one of the most permanent contributions of the present upheaval to the future security of the world; and I am at least certain that the last phrases of your Peace Centenary Committee do strictly represent both your own views and those of the vast majority of your fellow-countrymen. And I may perhaps add to them one other sentence from your most sacred archives, with which you will surely be in harmony, though it is even older than the words of Monroe I have quoted before; for it occurs in the Farewell Message of George Washington: "It is not sufficient," wrote the Father of your Country, "for a man to be a passive friend and well-wisher to the cause. Every person should be active in some department or other, without paying too much attention to private interest." How is it, some of us have wondered on this side, that for more than a year of the world-war, the Government of the United States has seemed to "pay too much attention to private interest" at a time when England, France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and the rest are

fighting and suffering for the principles set forth in your Declaration of Independence, for the cause on which your Constitution fundamentally is built? This book of yours, sir, gives the answer, and this is why you will be welcomed over here.

That answer will, if I mistake not, be sufficiently surprising to the majority of Englishmen and their allies; and this is the reason why I have endeavoured to place before you, in introducing you to them, some slight sketch of their point of view. I am well aware that personally, if you were President, you would cut the knot of this problem with the sword, because you see the issue clear; but if I were asked to deduce your answer from your book in as few words as possible, I should say, first, that American citizens, however much they may want to fight, are ruled by a Dictator far more autocratic than any European sovereign save the Kaiser. Secondly, that you are fighting Germany almost as hard as we are, but in a different and far more difficult fashion; you are fighting both the parasitic German who is weakening your body politic, and the diplomatic German who has been plotting in your midst against your liberties.

The things which Germany is doing to you in time of peace your book describes, with intimate knowledge, with convincing detail. And she has been doing them for years, not only among your

citizens, but in every European country. To my mind, one great value of your brilliant exposure of German methods lies in this: that you have proved conclusively that Germany, as she is ruled at present, is unfit to send her citizens into any civilised community. You tell us that, since the organisation of your Government, you have had the astounding total of 32,027,424 immigrants up to July 1, 1914; and you add that in 1910 there were no less than twelve million aliens in the United States who had not declared their purpose to become citizens. How many of these are Germans? I know your country. I shall never be able to repay its many hospitalities. And I know that you have absorbed, in some miraculous way, well-nigh every one of the variegated races of our outworn continent; but I know, too, that there are many Germans whom you have never absorbed. Your book proves it. Your pages are the most terrible object-lesson that can be conceived against any other country attempting to absorb them. If their methods in time of peace were not sufficient, their conduct of the present war would be more than enough to drive that lesson home.

And, after all, in spite of German ideals, it is not war, but peace, which is the normal life of every other nation. The Hague Conventions—on which our turncoat friend, Bernhardt, has vented so many bitter criticisms with reference

to the peaceful projects of Americans—were not made merely to mitigate the horrors of war ; they were made to enable us to live in honourable peace with our opponents after war was over. Germany will not only lose the present war owing to her brutalities in Belgium and elsewhere ; she will never again, within the lifetime of the present generation, be granted in the belligerent nations those courtesies of peace which she has so shamefully abused. And if there remains one uninstructed soul who does not realize the reason, your book will give it him ; for you have realized that a German victory would menace not merely the Panama Canal and the whole framework of American commerce, but also the very existence of American freedom and nationality ; and that towards this end your German voters are manipulating the machinery of democratic government at the bidding of despotic Potsdam.

Your care in marshalling the facts, and proving every hideous machination, is one of the chief claims of your overwhelming indictment to the attention of every serious European reader, for every European country is still exposed to the same perils. If you show conclusively that your hands have been too full with your own affairs to intervene—as yet—in ours, I know that you are hotly in favour of that intervention, as are so many of the best and bravest of your fellow-citizens. But I venture to suggest that even you

yourself have scarcely realized the difficulties which have hitherto tied and bound your President. At any rate, you have made me realize them very vividly ; and you will make every European realize them as he has never dreamt of doing before.

Hitherto, we have at least known, here in England, that, but for American generosity hundreds of thousands of Belgians would have literally starved to death ; that, but for American ambassadors, ministers and consuls, hundreds of thousands of prisoners (both military and civil) would have suffered untold miseries. We know the splendid efforts made by your representatives to stop the judicial murder of Edith Cavell in Brussels by the brutal assassins whose wounded she had tended ; and assuredly this is the crowning infamy in Germany's black catalogue of crime. We have recognized what the free manufacturing industries of your country could do in providing ammunition for all the Allied forces, just as Germany provided them against you in your war with Spain ; we have welcomed the confidence in the Allied cause shown by your reception of the last great Loan. Above all, we have applauded your firm protests against burglarious assassination on the High Seas. But we have never really understood the underground forces of dishonesty and cunning against which you have been fighting all the time, while conflicts of

another sort—against the same unscrupulous foe—were going on all over Europe. Your book will enlighten all your friends—and they are many—who were waiting on this side for the word they knew would come ; it may not enlighten all your enemies, among whom I count the populations of the Germanic Empires ; but it will most certainly confuse them. For it lets in the light of truth and justice on their tortuous intrigues and multifarious mendacities in a way that will not perhaps ensure a change of heart—that were too much to hope—but that should at least prove strangely disconcerting. You would yourself, I see, prefer to argue with them, sword in hand, yet I am not sure that the pen you are as yet constrained to wield may not, in the end, prove truly to be the mightier weapon. There is a tremendous force in the concentrated opprobrium of public condemnation, which Germany has yet to learn.

We have read what Mr. Theodore Roosevelt has to say in "America and the World War," and he certainly says harder things about your Government than any Englishman would care to hazard ; we have read Mr. James M. Beck's masterly volume on the moral responsibility for the war, entitled "The Evidence in the Case in the Supreme Court of Civilisation" ; and we have welcomed Mr. Joseph Choate's noble words of introduction furnished to the American edition of Professor Cramb's Lectures. But all these

have been, if I may so express myself without ingratitude, so much on our side that we have read only what we expected and liked, only what we felt to be inevitable. Your book, if I may say so without impertinence, appeals to us in a different and a more vivid way because it keeps the distinctively American point of view before the reader all the time, and deals with English matters as much from that point of view as it does with German. I place it, in my mind's library, with Paul Vergniet's "France in Danger"; with Perez Triana's "Aspects of the War"; with Wesselitsky's "Russia and Democracy." I so place it, not merely because each of these writers deals with the German Evil as it has specially affected his own country, but because each of them describes that evil from the typical point of view of his own countrymen. And this, Sir, apart from your extremely valuable exposition of the complicated Cotton question, is one of your many claims to the attention of European readers.

But I must have done with introducing. Let me conclude by saying that for the past year, in my capacity as one of the secretaries of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations, I have been well aware of your many beneficent activities; and that I am unfeignedly glad to think my countrymen will now read, in your congruous pages, the clear and un-

answerable utterance in which you appeal, not only to the generation of to-day, but to the verdict of History and the judgment of Mankind.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

Always sincerely,

THEODORE ANDREA COOK.

November 1, 1915.

FOREWORD

OF Macaulay it was said that "he had read everything and remembered all that he had read." The epigram prompts us to break the tenth commandment and covet Macaulay's memory; we read so assiduously; yet, alas, so much of that which we read escapes through the meshes of the mind. Perhaps this is well, for in large measure modern reading is necessarily ephemeral; while for that portion which is worthier and of more memorable substance we must share the regret of Renan that "Life is too short for all its wealth of books."

Therefore it behoves us gratefully to acknowledge our debt towards those who shorten the labours of omnivorous reading and bring to us our mental food partially digested as a pigeon does to its young—*multum in parvo*. In this category may be classed the present timely, clear and useful volume. Timely it is, if ever book were so, for the echoes of a cruel war fill the air as we read its story of the long and insidious plots whereby the directing minds of the German States, intent upon world-power, have sought to stunt, here and elsewhere, the progress of liberty.

Clear also, beyond praise, is its orderly arrangement of quoted authorities showing how the storm cloud gathers over this land. And immeasurably useful, nay essential, should such a book be to all who foresee, and would aid, the destiny of the United States as a potent factor in the progress of mankind.

In this age of high tension few of us possess the leisure to read a tithe of the books of which the title pages provoke our interest ; and of all subjects none could be of deeper moment than the Great War. It presents no mere pageant to which we may bestow a passing glance, nor can we feel that we have realized its meaning by a cursory perusal of our daily paper. All civilization is in travail. The hearts of mankind are being weighed in the scales of Thoth ; and to the indifferent shall go forth the judgment, "Thou art found wanting." It is the parting of the ways of time ; the shattering of the feudal era against the embattled protest of enlightened nations. And when the storm has passed, and the turmoil and sorrow of its wake grow calmer, mankind shall once more journey in the fair highway of evolution towards conditions immeasurably greater yet simpler, happier and more noble than the world has known.

Here, then, is a book "made to thy hand." A mine of facts, stripped of misleading wrappings so that the light of their inward significance may

shine for him who runs to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. The privilege which has been accorded to me by the able author of this notable work in being permitted to read its proof sheets is deeply appreciated; and, as one whose profession it is to study the shifting sands of history, I find it difficult adequately to express my sense of the service the author has rendered to those who hold that in the growth of all that makes life gracious and encouraging it is right and not might which should prevail.

In the making of books there is no end. This Hebraic platitude applies with obvious force to the numerous treaties which have as their theme the great struggle taking place in Europe—their name is legion. But amongst these many new-born books I know of none which supplies so admirably the need of numberless watchers on the shore of time as this exposition of facts written for Americans by an enlightened, clear-visioned, and earnest American, and from the view-point of America's true interests. As Sancho Panza was wont to say: "*A buen entendedor breve hablador.*"

JULIAN B. ARNOLD.

Chicago,

September, 1915.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN my early life I dwelt in a section of America which was permeated with examples of "German Methods," and is to-day impoverished and harried by their results. I have sat at the fireside of staunch Americans whose fathers drove the German mercenaries from my native country. I have heard the shocking stories of German atrocities during the American Revolution, a part of the pathetic folk-lore of my people, among whom the name of Hessian was suggestive of the lowest and most vicious of mankind. And I have also heard the sad story of those who suffered and still suffer under a later German invasion, more dangerous and fraught with greater disaster than that from which the country struggled when Freedom was its watchword.

In recent years I have resided in the second largest city of America and the second largest German city of the world. Here the opportunity has been mine of watching closely German practices and German policies in America.

In fancied security my country rests upon foundations undermined by German intrigue—upon sands made quick and deadly by insidious currents.

The story, and its authoritative facts, I have sought to tell simply yet faithfully. I do not address myself to those whose loyalty to this land of their pretended adoption is a veneer :

" His honour rooted in dishonour stood
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

But I speak to all in whose hearts burns the flame of Liberty ; to all my fellow-Americans who love their country ; and to all true men and women who look forward to the progress of mankind with resolve to aid it and with trust in its growth, basing their faith upon Democratic Institutions.

WM. H. SKAGGS.

Chicago, *October 1, 1915.*

GERMAN CONSPIRACIES IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

GERMANISM IN BRIEF

FROM the beginning of the present War of Nations cumulative evidence of a Germanic conspiracy has transpired in the United States ; a conspiracy with its fountain head in a bureau of propaganda, the organization of which antedated this war. A brief story of conditions in Germany preceding the war, and the sequence of events in America, will show that the present situation is a menace to American institutions. It is the purpose of the author to lay before the American people a record of these facts.

The story of German propagandism in America cannot be understood without a knowledge of German policies and methods during the last half century. One need not search German history prior to the Bismarckian epoch in order to understand present conditions, and as a preliminary let me quote a very clear and concise interpretation

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of German political history, German temperament and character, found in a book, entitled "Germany's Madness," by the late Dr. Emil Reich:

"Perhaps the following consideration will help the reader to see the matter in its true proportions. The most ignorant is aware of the fact that Germany is an upstart; that her existence as a Great Power is, so to speak, of yesterday. As to Prussia, she was a little over 250 years ago a small State under the suzerainty of the King of Poland; and 600 years ago most of the Prussians proper were still heathens, talking a Slav language. It was only by the end of the thirteenth century that the *Prussi* were converted to Christianity. Some South-German people contend that this conversion is not complete even in our days.

"It is common knowledge that, of all the kinds of intractable pride, the pride of the upstart is the worst, the least amenable to sound limits. For centuries and centuries the Germans have been buffeted about by the French, English, Swedes, Poles, and formerly even by the Hungarians. For centuries the German Princes, hat in hand, went the round of all the Courts of Europe, begging for subsidies, kissing hands and licking shoes of various powerful ministers, mistresses, kings, popes and generals. For centuries they were used and utilized like so many flunkies by the older and more powerful nations around them. The Prussian rulers especially, whether the so-called Great Elector, who died in 1688, or Frederick William I., in the eighteenth century, and Frederick William the Fourth in the nineteenth, were forced to eat many a humble pie and, as the French say, to swallow many a snake. Over one-half of the British State debt is composed of moneys thrown as sops, compensation, salaries, or bribes to innumerable German Princes during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and part of the nineteenth centuries."

The late author of this truly remarkable volume

"was a Hungarian born, and was educated at the Universities of Prague, Budapest and Vienna, where he had ample opportunity to study the German Empire and interpret its thought and aspirations from a close and critical standpoint. Although the book missed the public for whom it was intended, it made an impression on a few discerning minds. That astute watcher of European politics, the late King Edward, read it and was so much impressed that he recommended it to a distinguished soldier." The book was published in 1907, revised and re-published in August, 1914.

The interpretation of German history and character given in the masterly summary quoted from Dr. Reich refers more directly and properly to Germany as it was prior to the Bismarckian period. In order to make the present situation absolutely clear to the reader, the following summary of German history for the last past half century is quoted from "British and German Ideals," reprinted from "The Round Table":

"It is not possible to trace in detail the history of those tragic years from 1848 to 1870, when reaction triumphed and democracy failed. It will suffice to recall that in 1848 a national assembly of Germany, elected by popular vote, with one member elected for each 500,000 of the population, drew up a Grundrecht for a German union. This fundamental law was conceived on noble lines. Germany was to become a true federation. The thirty-six separate States were to

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retain local self-government, but there was to be a federal government, superior to them all, to which every German citizen was to owe primary allegiance. The individual citizen was to be guaranteed those rights which the British citizen had won long before in the struggles over Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and during the Great Rebellion, and which were eventually embodied in the Bill of Rights of 1688. These elementary constitutional rights no German then possessed or now possesses. The Grundrecht went on to provide that, though the citizen was bound to serve his country in arms, he was also to have freedom of speech, freedom of public meeting, freedom of the Press, and his person was to be secure from arrest except under legal warrant. Finally it declared that every State was to be governed according to the principles of popular representation, and that ministers were to be responsible to Parliament and not to the King. Germany was to become a true democratic federation of the German peoples.

"This plan, nobly conceived, was rejected by the 'princes and statesmen with golden stars upon their callous breasts.' Twelve years later, Germany was united in another way. Trampling the Prussian Constitution of 1847 under foot, Bismarck for four years governed Prussia in the teeth of violent popular opposition, until he had forged an army of strength sufficient for his purpose. Then in three wars he seized Schleswig-Holstein, cast Austria out of Germany, conquered France and was able to impose union on Germany on his own terms. Bismarck's constitution was very different from the liberal and democratic Grundrecht of 1848.

"The German people do not make their Government; their Government makes them. . . . There is thus a fundamental difference of character between the British and the German Empires, which largely explains the difference, now so palpable, between their methods and aims.

"The German Empire was raised like a light-house, the work of less than a decade, the plan of a single great mind,

The British Empire has grown like a coral-island, without a plan. The character of the German Empire was fixed by the man who made it, and by the State out of which it came. The character of the British Empire has been shaped by the common strivings and instincts of generations of Englishmen. It is like the English Common Law, built up gradually by practical experience, so that every principle is merely a generalization from common-sense judgments in particular instances and represents the average feeling of average Englishmen all down the centuries. Compared with this the German system is a code of law, worked out on principles which a few despotic law-givers have laid down."

In the language of Professor Hart: "The first people who wrote about the Germans found them anything but unified. Their chief pursuits seemed to be drinking mead and fighting their neighbours; or, if there were no neighbours handy, fighting each other. The first unifying principle came from without." The first "conception of one king for the Germans, who should at the same time be Emperor of the world," came with Charlemagne, the great king of the Franks. German history began about the year 840, when the vast empire of Charles the Great was divided into three parts.

German nationalism is new and unification is not well suited to the customs and ideals of people who have so recently emerged from tribal communities in a state of serfdom. At the close of the Napoleonic period, there were thirty-nine governmental units, including four independent

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city states. A German National Parliament was held in 1848 for the purpose of forming a general German constitution, but the undertaking miscarried. About the same time, a Pan-Slavic Congress was held at Prague for the purpose of bringing together the various Slav elements in the Austrian Empire in opposition to the Germans.

No progress was made in the direction of German unification until after the defeat of the Austrians at Solferino. Austrian prestige with Prussia vanished at Solferino and King William inaugurated the first constructive movement for the unification of Germany when by disregarding, for the time being, the Hohenzollern doctrine of divine right, he called Bismarck to his support. Bismarck's masterful mind fathomed the situation and his constructive ability and iron will moulded Germany into a union which was greatly strengthened by the short war with Austria in 1866, when Prussia, with superior arms and the superior strategy of General von Moltke, not only defeated Austria, but also whipped Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Hesse into line and made them a part of the new German Confederation. This new confederation was formed in 1867; the present constitution was made in 1871. It is a written instrument and the empire created by this constitution consists of four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities,

three free cities, and one territory ; all under the presidency of the King of Prussia, who bears the title of German Emperor. It is not a union of equals ; certain members enjoy specific privileges which do not belong to others. Prussia has the hereditary right to the presidency of the union, and her representation in the Federal Council is large enough to prevent changes in the constitution without her consent and she has the casting vote in case of a tie.

German unification was not complete until after the war with France. Realizing the weakness of Napoleon III., Bismarck grasped the moment of opportunity for a more perfect unification and greater expansion of the new German Confederation. The suggestion of a Hohenzollern prince for the Spanish throne irritated France, and Bismarck found the psychological moment for his intrigue and cunning. He falsified a report of the alleged insult by the French Ambassador and war was declared with France ; the remaining German states were forced into the war. Alsace and Lorraine were annexed, and the unification was completed when King William of Prussia was declared German Emperor in the great hall of the palace of Versailles. The Holy Roman Empire was never so powerful as the German Empire. The work was well done. It was the work of a master mind, such as Germany had

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not produced before and has not produced since ; it was the work of a "blood and iron" policy, a magnificent but brutal beginning of militarism, absolutism and conquest, the climax of which, in the present struggle of democracy and humanity against despotism and materialism, has appalled the civilized world.

The internal struggle of Germany began shortly after unification, but the agricultural class, the old Germany, the polite and respectable Germany, was soon smothered by the industrialism, materialism, militarism, and coarseness of Prussia. Germany was swallowed up by Prussia, whose king became the German Emperor and whose votes amount to a veto on all measures which the military class and the Prussian dynasty do not approve.

Again quoting from "Germany's Madness" :

"The actions of a nation like the Germans are, in the first place, influenced by their state of mind ; and, given that that state of mind in Germany is now one bordering on absolute *megalomania*, or the most morbid form of self-conceit and swelled-headedness, it is safe to conclude that their actions, too, will soon assume forms of the most daring self-assertiveness and aggression."

And, finally, from "British and German Ideals" :

"This war is the result of the rejection of democracy by Germany and Austria in the years 1848-1870. and its bitter-

ness is due to the fact that two irreconcilable principles, autocracy and democracy, are struggling for supremacy in Europe to-day."

Bismarck's methods were very clearly and emphatically stated on his accession to power in 1862 when he said in the Prussian Diet: "The great questions are to be settled, not by speeches and majority resolutions, but by blood and iron."

Within a year after he came to the throne, William II. went "on his famous visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, which was the beginning of that connection between the ruling classes in Berlin and Constantinople which has borne fruit in the Bagdad Railway and in the Austrian policy of establishing her ascendancy in the Balkan peninsula. No sooner did he return to Germany than William II. made up his mind to get rid of Bismarck." Bismarck tendered his resignation. "In the same month of March, 1890, the Kaiser declared: 'Only one is master within the Empire and I will tolerate no other. Those who are willing to help me in my endeavours are cordially welcome. Those who oppose me I will smash.'"

Again, at the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the Kingdom of Prussia, the Kaiser exclaimed: "Nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of Germany and of the German Emperor."

Due consideration having thus been given the

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historians, we might fully consider the judgment of a distinguished historian of the United States. Prof. Roland G. Usher is the author of two very interesting books, "Pan-Germanism," published in 1913, and "Pan-Americanism" in 1915; and in the former work the following prophetic statement occurs :

" The Germans aim at nothing less than the domination of Europe and of the world by the Germanic race. One of the fundamental errors, of which idealists and advocates of peace have been often guilty, is to treat this vast project as an unreality. In fact, it is already half accomplished. . . . It is literally true that Germany has become Bismarckian. His heavy spirit has settled upon it. It wears his scowl. It has adopted his brutality, as it has his greatness. It has taken his criterion of truth, which is Germanic ; his indifference to justice, which is savage ; his conception of a state, which is sublime. This nation has forgotten God in its exaltation of the Germanic race. A crisis of the utmost gravity is thus facing Europe, and may at any moment result in a war whose consequences would be felt alike by the farmers in North Dakota, the operators in Lancashire cotton mills, and the savages in the heart of Africa."

During many years Germanic dogmas have been promulgated against democratic institutions in America ; and from these dogmas there has been evolved a system of espionage. This espionage is the iniquitous agency through which German propaganda has been working. An epitome of German activities in American history, from the American Revolution down to the

piratical destruction of the *Lusitania*, will effectively illustrate the menacing attitude of this nation of ruthless destroyers of all in the path of their car of Juggernaut, and incidentally, albeit unintentionally, of the encrimsoned car itself.

CHAPTER II

GERMAN MERCENARIES IN AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was a wise man, philosopher, statesman and diplomatist, whose judgment of men and measures was usually made up after most careful investigation and thoughtful consideration. Some years before the American Revolution, Franklin wrote a letter to Richard Jackson in which he said :

" I am perfectly of your mind, that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans ; and am not without apprehensions, that, through their indiscretions, or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us. . . . Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. . . . In short, unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us, that all the advantages we have will not in my opinion be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."¹

Franklin lived to see his grave apprehensions fully verified. At that time, George III. was king of England, the third of the house of Hanover, a typical German, arbitrary, oppressive, brutal and notoriously corrupt. " He had but

¹ " Writings of Benjamin Franklin," Albert Henry Smyth.

average ability, but more than average obstinacy. He grew up with a limited education. His English was poor in conversation, and worse in writing. He spelled badly." The arbitrary measures of George III. brought on the war with the American colonies, and later the war of 1812. He was mentally deranged before the American War and finally became hopelessly insane. George IV. was a dissolute and brutish German who refused to permit his queen to be present at the coronation, and charged her with infidelity in divorce proceedings before the House of Lords. Brief reference to this period of English history, so far as it affected affairs in America, will illustrate the menace of Germanic policies and methods wherever and whenever these vandals have been able to use brute force with the mailed fist.

"In August, 1714, the house of Hanover ascended the English throne. George I. had imprisoned his wife; had, from jealousy, caused a young man to be assassinated; had had frequent and angry quarrels with his son; and now, being fifty-three years old, attended by two women of the Hanoverian aristocracy, who were proud of being known as his mistresses, he crossed the sea to become the sovereign of a country of which he understood neither the institutions, the manners, nor the language." He aimed to exploit England for the benefit of his German electorate.¹

During the reign of George III., England was

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

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not so far advanced in democracy, nor so far removed from the dogma of divine right, that she could grant the just demands of the American colonies. But even in those days, with a corrupt and mediæval ruler on the throne, the principles of representative government were firmly established in the English constitution, and in all respects England was further advanced in civilization than other nations. The will of the sovereign was not the sentiment and judgment of the people and the people did not hesitate to make their wishes known. Our colonial fathers were not without friends at court and, not only America, but the world owes a debt to England's greatest statesmen, Pitt, Burke and others, who so ably and fearlessly advocated the cause of democracy.

The war between America and England was an evolution of democracy; a protest, not only in the colonies, but also in England, against the reactionary policies of the Germanic dynasty which, by the accident of birth, under the "Act of Settlement" in favour of a Protestant heir, was called to the throne of England. A period of reaction and corruption in colonial administration began when the house of Hanover ascended the throne, and it continued without interruption until the American colonies declared their independence. Friction with the colonies continued during the reign of George II., "an undiscerning

German prince who still sat on the British throne methodically narrow, meanly avaricious and spiritless, cared more for Hanover than for America." The English people were not in sympathy with the policies of the king and substantially every great statesman of England was an avowed advocate of the American colonists. Commenting on the debate in the British parliament on the American colonies, Bancroft said: "But the debate of that day went forth to the colonies as an assurance that the inevitable war would be a war with a ministry, not with the British people. It took from the contest the character of internecine hatred, and showed that the true spirit of England, which had grown by great freedom, was on the side of America."

The policy of the Germanic king prevailed; the American colonies were declared in rebellion and "the king relied upon the attachment of his faithful allies, the Six Nations of Indians," and sent an envoy to "induce them to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's rebellious subjects in America."

George III. sent an autograph letter to Empress Catherine II. of Russia, requesting "20,000 disciplined men, completely equipped and prepared" to serve against "his rebellious subjects in America." Catherine declined to "traffic in the blood of her subjects," at the same time

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suggesting that the king would better go to Hanover for mercenary troops.

"Of Russia, Great Britain, with ceaseless importunity sought the alliance; but its empress put aside every overture, and repeatedly advised the concession of independence to the United States. Of England, she venerated the people; but she had contempt for its king, and foretold the failure of his ministry."¹ With his "rotten borough" system, and other corrupt practices, George III. undertook to restore the absolutism of the Stuarts and hark back the English speaking people to the middle ages. In his repressive measures against the American colonists he did not have the support of the English people; there was hardly a great statesman in England of that period who supported the king. Nor did he have the moral support of any other country, and only such material support as he bought from the dissolute and petty dukes and princes of Germany who sold their vassals for service against the American patriots. It took three generations of English association to civilize, humanize and anglicize the Guelph family, but from the beginning of the reign of Victoria it has been intensely English.

"Much has been made of the fact that 7,000 French soldiers

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

and 10,000 French seamen assisted the United States in the siege of Yorktown, but we have forgotten that a force of between 15,000 and 20,000 Germans served for seven years against us; that more than 20,000 were brought to America for this purpose; that more than 12,000 never returned to Germany.

"The little city of Cassel is one of the most attractive in North Germany to a passing stranger. . . . Here Napoleon III. spent the months of his captivity amid scenes which might remind him of the magnificence of Versailles, which, indeed, those who planned the beautiful gardens had wished to imitate. . . . The expense of all these buildings and gardens was enormous, but there was generally money in the treasury. Yet the land was poor land. The three or four hundred thousand inhabitants lived chiefly by the plough, but the Landgraves were in business. It was a profitable trade that they carried on, selling or letting out wares which were much in demand in that century, as in all centuries, for the Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel were dealers in men; thus it came to pass that the Landgrave Frederick II. and his subjects played a part in American history, and that 'Hessian' became a household word, though not a title of honour, in the United States.

"The Landgraves were not particular as to their markets or their customers. . . . So little was it a matter of patriotism, or political preference, with the Landgraves, that in 1743, Hessian stood against Hessian, 6,000 men serving in the army of King George II. of England, and 6,000 in the opposing force of Emperor Charles VII. In the war of the American Revolution alone, six German rulers let out their soldiers to Great Britain. The sum total, according to Kapp, was made up as follows:

Brunswick sent	-	-	-	-	-	5,723
Hesse-Cassel sent					-	16,992
Hesse-Hanau sent	-	-	-	-	-	2,422
Anspach-Bayreuth sent	-	-	-	-	-	2,353

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Waldeck sent	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,225
Anhalt-Zerbst sent	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,160

Total - - - - - 29,875

"Of this total of nearly 30,000 men, 12,562 did not return to Germany. Besides the contingent sent to America from Germany by agreement with the princes, a certain number of Germans served in the English regiments, some of which had recruiting stations on the Rhine."¹

"The colonies felt themselves wounded to the soul when they heard and could no longer doubt that George III. was hiring foreign mercenaries, and domesticated negroes, and regiments of ruthless red men to reduce them to subjection."² King George applied to the Netherlands for a brigade of mercenary troops. The proposition was discussed at some length in the States General but declined. The reactionary Germanic king could find no mercenary troops in Europe to make war on the American colonists except among his own people.

"During the tardy course of the discussion Britain had obtained supplies of men from Germany. The electors and landgraves and reigning dukes of that empire were so accustomed to hire out their troops for their personal profit, that German troops had been engaged in every great contest which raged from Poland to Lisbon, from

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution."

² "History of the United States," Bancroft.

the North Sea to Naples, and were sometimes arrayed in the same battle on opposite sides. So soon as it became known that the King of England desired recruits from Germany, crowds of adventurers volunteered their aid. A larger bounty, higher wages, and the undefined prospects of spoils in the El Dorado of America, attracted vagabond veterans to the British standard. The British ministry openly sought to engage subsidiary troops in Germany."¹ The Duke of Brunswick furnished 5,723 troops, for which he received very liberal pay.

The Landgrave, Frederick II. of Hesse, was an obstinate old degenerate and his court was as dissolute as Brunswick, but he was a shrewder trader than the Duke. In trading his Hessian troops for English gold he "had an advantage of 20 per cent. over that of Brunswick." England expected to get not more than 5,000 of these Hessians; but the price was so high and there was so much room for speculation and peculation, the contract was made for 12,000, which was later increased to about 13,000. Provision was made for the payment of a double subsidy to begin from the day of the signature of the treaty. The contract was signed January 31st, but the wily old landgrave changed the date of the instrument

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

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to January 15th which gave him more pay for his mercenary troops.

"Frederick II. of Hesse-Cassel married a daughter of George II. of England; his first wife left him on his conversion to Catholicism. Frederick next 'took unto himself a cast-off mistress of the Duc de Bouillion, but set up no pretensions to fidelity, and is said to have had more than 100 children. William, the eldest son and heir of Landgrave Frederick, governed at the time of the Revolution the independent county of Hanau. William was his father's inferior in dignity and his equal in cupidity.' William was a reprobate of the most vicious class. When he had a natural child to provide for he added a kreutzer (about one cent) to the price of every bag of salt which his subjects bought from the salt mines and gave the revenue thus obtained to the infant. As his left-handed children numbered seventy-four, the poorer of his subjects must have learned to be sparing of their salt. One of his bastards was that General von Haynau who, in the service of Austria, committed terrible cruelties in Italy in 1849, causing women to be whipped in Bressia, and who was afterwards mobbed in London."¹

When the treaties with Brunswick and Hesse were considered in the House of Commons Lord Cavendish said: "The measure disgraces Britain, humiliates the king, and, by its extravagance, impoverishes the country." Lord Irnham said: "The Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick render Germany vile and dishonoured in the eyes of all Europe as a nursery of men for those who have most money, making them destroy

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

much better and nobler beings than themselves." The duchies of Brunswick and Hesse did not furnish all of the German mercenaries who were sent to fight the American colonists. Other petty states and duchies were in the market and eager to furnish troops for British gold. "Soldiers were impressed from the plough, the workshop, the highway; no man was safe from the inferior agents of the princes, who kidnapped without scruple. Almost every family in Hesse mourned for one of its members."¹

"Mirabeau, then a fugitive in Holland, lifted up the voice of the civilization of his day against the trade, and spoke to the peoples of Germany and the soldiers themselves: 'What new madness is this? Alas, miserable men, you burn down not the camp of an enemy, but your own hopes. Germans, what brand do you suffer to be put upon your forehead? You war against a people who have never wronged you, who fight for a righteous cause, and set you the noblest pattern. They break their chains. Imitate their example.'"¹ While Mirabeau was pleading for the American colonists and protesting against the use of mercenary troops from Germany the great Chatham was engaged in the same noble work in England. "My lords, you cannot conquer America. In

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

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three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. You may swell every expense, accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince ; your efforts are forever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms ; never, never." And he denounced the alliance with " the horrible hell-hounds of savage war."¹

" There were nearly 300 sovereignties in Germany, besides over 1,400 estates of Imperial Knights, holding immediately of the empire, and having many rights of sovereignty. Some of these 300 states were not larger than townships in New England, many of them not larger than American counties. Nor was each of them compact in itself, for one dominion was often composed of several detached parcels of territory. Yet every little principedom had to maintain its petty prince, with his court and his army. The princes were practically despotic."¹ . . . " Commerce and manufactures were impeded by monopolies. In certain places sumptuary laws regulated the dress or the food of the people."¹

" King Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, chased his children about the room with his stick ; Wilhelmina hid under the bed

¹ " History of the United States," Bancroft.

and Frederick in the closet," as told in the memoirs of the daughter, Wilhelmina. The old Margrave of Anspach was another type of the German brute. "Having heard that his dogs were not well fed, he rode to the house of the man who had them in charge, called him to the door and shot him on his own threshold."¹ Another diversion provided for this Margrave was to have one of his soldiers dragged through a mill-pond by two hussars at their horses' tails. . . . Charles Alexander, son of this murdering Margrave, who had become Margrave both of Anspach and of Bayreuth, "was deeply in debt, and delighted with the chance to let out two regiments of his subjects for foreign service." He furnished a total of 2,353 men, for which he received more than £100,000 sterling. He was the last Margrave of Anspach and Bayreuth. "He sold both countries to Prussia for a pension, on which he afterwards lived in England, where he died in 1806."¹

"In the war of the American Revolution alone six German rulers let out their soldiers to Great Britain."¹

"Seume, the captive poet, has left a graphic description of his experiences on shipboard. The men were packed like herrings. A tall man could not stand upright between decks, nor sit up straight in his berth. To every such berth six men were allotted, but as there was room for only four, the

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

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last two had to squeeze in as best they might. This was not cool in warm weather, says Seume. Thus the men lay in what the boys call 'spoon fashion,' and when they were tired on one side, the man on the right would call 'about face,' and the whole file would turn over at once; then, when they were tired again, the man on the left would give the same order, and they would turn back on to the first side. The food was on a par with the lodging. Pork and pease were the chief of their diet. The pork seemed to be four or five years old. It was streaked with black towards the outside, and was yellow farther in, with a little white in the middle. The salt beef was in much the same condition. The ship biscuit was often full of maggots. 'We had to eat them for a relish,' says Seume, not to reduce our slender rations too much. This biscuit was so hard that they sometimes broke it up with a cannon-ball, and the story ran that it had been taken from the French in the Seven Years' War and lain in Portsmouth ever since. The English had kept it twenty years or so, and were now feeding the Germans with it, that these might, if it were God's will, destroy Rochambeau and Lafayette." . . . "These poor fellows suffered in a quarrel that was not their own, and simply to provide means to pay debts, or minister to the pleasures of their masters."¹

"The first division of Hessians, some eight thousand strong, passed Sandy Hook on August 15, 1776, and landed at Staten Island amid salvoes of artillery and musketry." The army on Staten Island was under command of Sir William Howe. After the arrival of the Hessian troops, Howe's army crossed the narrows to Long Island and opened the campaign against the American patriots under Washington.

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

At the battle of Long Island and subsequent battles on Manhattan Island, the Hessian troops were as good fighters and as well disciplined as the British troops. The Hessians bore the brunt of the fighting at Fort Washington. Under the courageous leadership of their commander, Knyp-hausen, "they waded through a marsh and climbed the precipitous rocky hill on which the fort was built." Washington wished to abandon the fort, but "Greene was of the opposite opinion, and Congress shared the delusion of Greene." The glory of taking Fort Washington belonged to General von Knyphausen and his Hessian soldiers; the Americans lost "less than 150 killed and wounded but about 2,800 prisoners, among whom were some of their best soldiers. They also lost a good deal of artillery and many arms and accoutrements." It was quite a different story at Trenton where the American army under the immediate command of Washington won a decided victory which gave new life to the destitute colonists. "Bunker Hill had taught the Americans that British regulars could be resisted. Trenton proved to them in an hour of despondency that the dreaded Hessians could be conquered."¹

"The Brunswick contingent of the German

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

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troops hired by England to suppress the revolt in her North American colonies was commanded by Baron Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel." Riedesel with his Brunswickers arrived at Quebec on June 1, 1776. General Riedesel and his troops were in the campaign with General Burgoyne from Ticonderoga to Saratoga. The German troops were more than half the total number of white men under Burgoyne and these Brunswickers surrendered with Burgoyne at Saratoga.

Colonel Karl Emil Kurt von Donop was one of the most distinguished of the Hessian colonels; at his own request he was sent to take Fort Mercer. . . . "Late in October, accordingly, a force of about 2,500 picked men, mostly Hessians, under Colonel Donop, was sent against Fort Mercer, and a supporting fleet was ordered up the river. On the 22nd the Hessians attacked with vigour, but were fiercely beaten back by the small American garrison, numbering 300, under Colonel Christopher Greene, and were finally forced to withdraw."¹

"On arriving before the fort, Donop sent an aide-de-camp to summon the garrison. He commanded the rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and they were warned that, if they waited until the battle, no quarter would be granted. Colonel Greene answered that he accepted the terms, and that no quarter would be given on either side. Donop was

¹ "New International Encyclopædia."

mortally wounded and was carried into the fort under the direction of Captain du Plessis. Some of the American soldiers, not knowing that Donop's wound was mortal, could not help saying, 'Well, is it settled that no quarter is to be given?' 'I am in your hands,' answered the colonel, 'you can avenge yourselves.' Du Plessis had no difficulty in silencing the soldiers, and then gave all his attention to the wounded man. 'Sir,' said the latter, 'you appear to be a stranger; who are you?' 'A French officer,' answered du Plessis. 'I am content,' said Donop, in French; 'I die in the arms of honour.' The Hessian colonel lived three days after the attack, and often conversed with du Plessis. He begged the latter to warn him when death should be near. Du Plessis complied with his request. 'It is an early end to a fair career,' said Donop, 'but I die the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign.'"¹

About 30,000 German hirelings were brought to America as mercenaries in the British Army during the American Revolution, and 17,313 returned to Germany. "For the services of these men England paid in levy-money and subsidies to the princes more than £1,770,000 sterling. This was in addition to the pay of the soldiers and to all expenses except those of recruiting and equipment."¹

From this infamous record of the venal and dissolute princes of Germany it is a pleasing reflection to turn to the life of one manly, honourable German prominent in the American Revolution.

¹ "Hessians in the Revolution," Lowell.

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Baron Steuben was a notable exception ; he was a soldier of courage and honour. He protested against the use of German mercenaries against the American colonists ; while he was in Paris in 1777 Saint-Germain induced him to offer his services to the American colonists. Franklin knew Steuben and appreciated him as a man of honour, and the recommendation of Franklin secured him an appointment as major-general. Baron Steuben was a Prussian officer who had served with distinction under Frederick the Great. "He benefited the country of his adoption by 'introducing into the army a regular formation and exact discipline,' and by establishing a spirit of order and economy in the interior administration of the regiments."¹ Baron Steuben was an honour to his native country and to the country of his adoption. After a highly honourable and useful career, he retired to the small estate granted him by New York, "where he lived in a rude log cabin until his death."

One phase of German propaganda in America is the assertion so frequently made by German-Americans regarding the alleged friendship of Germany for America. Our relations with Germany will be more fully considered in subsequent chapters of this volume ; in this chapter, however,

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

one important assertion of the German-Americans should be answered.

Time and again have German-Americans and other German propagandists asserted that Germany and distinguished German soldiers gave valuable aid to the American colonists in their war against Great Britain. This is a bold assumption, a piece of German artifice. In point of fact, every student of American history knows that the statement is not true. Neither Prussia nor any of the smaller states or petty principalities, which are now a part of the German Empire, furnished any material aid or moral support to America, before, during or subsequent to the Revolutionary War. Baron Steuben was one notable exception. He was a Prussian but not a German of the present standard, nor did he have anything in common with the venal and barbarous Germans of his day. And there is the splendid record of Baron Johann de Kalb to whom the hyphenated Americans have frequently referred as the German friend of America. De Kalb was not a German, according to Germanic standards of his day or the present time, although he was born at Hüttendorf, Bavaria. He was not German in sentiment, education, association or experience. He was of peasant parentage and left home at the age of sixteen to serve as a butler. He entered the French army as lieutenant, became a captain

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in 1747 and a brigadier-general in 1761 and was sent by the French Government on a secret mission to America in 1768 :

“ Choiseul began to think the time for the great American insurrection was come. He resolved, therefore, to send an emissary across the Atlantic, and selected for that purpose the brave and upright John Kalb. A Protestant and a German, son of a peasant who dwelt in the old land of the Franks, not far from Erlangen, he gained in the service of France an honourable name and the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.”¹

Kalb came to America with Lafayette and rendered valuable service to the American cause. He was the hero of the fight at Camden where he was mortally wounded :

“ The division which Kalb commanded continued long in action, and never did troops show greater courage than those men of Maryland and Delaware. The horse of Kalb had been killed under him, and he had been badly wounded ; yet he continued to fight on foot. At last, in the hope of victory, he led a charge, drove the division under Rawdon, took fifty prisoners, and would not believe that he was not about to gain the day, when Cornwallis poured against him a party of dragoons and infantry. Even then he did not yield until disabled by many wounds.

“ Kalb lingered three days ; but before he closed his eyes, he bore an affectionate testimony to the exemplary conduct of the division which he commanded, and of which two-fifths had fallen in battle. Opulent, and happy in his wife and children, he gave to the United States his life and example. Congress decreed him a monument.”¹

¹ “ History of the United States,” Bancroft.

There is a striking similarity in the story of the first year of the American Revolution and the first year of the present . . . in Europe, so far as it relates to Belgium. King Albert has the quiet, dignified, resolute manner and temperament of Washington ; he has shown that lofty patriotism, that high ideal of national and personal honour so characteristic of Washington, and by his deep sympathy and personal concern for his soldiers he has won their esteem and confidence, as Washington won the esteem and confidence of the American patriots.

The historian has described the condition of the American army on Long Island in 1776 in these words :

" The lines were at some places so low that men employed in the trenches stood in water ; provisions could not be regularly served, and whole regiments had nothing to eat but raw pork and bread. But their Commander-in-Chief was among them, exposing himself more than anyone to the storm, and the sight of their General, enduring hardships equally with themselves, reconciled them to their sufferings. For eight-and-forty hours he gave no moment to sleep, and for nearly all that time, by night and by day, was on horseback in the lines.

" The British Commander-in-Chief, General Sir William Howe, by illegitimate descent an uncle to the King, was of a very different cast of mind. Six feet tall, of an uncommonly dark complexion, a coarse frame, and a sluggish mould, he succumbed unresistingly to his sensual nature. . . . He permitted his prisoners to suffer from atrocious cruelty ; not meaning that his troops should be robbed, he left peculators

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uncontrolled, and the army and hospitals were wronged by contractors. His notions of honour in money matters were not nice ; but he was not so much rapacious as insatiable."¹

A study of conditions in New Jersey in the winter of 1776, before Washington's victory at Trenton, would lead one to believe that the example of the Hessians in the American Revolution has been very closely followed by the Germans in Belgium during the present war.

"By orders committed to Donop, the inhabitants who in bands or separately should fire upon any of the army were to be hanged upon the nearest tree without further process. All provisions which exceeded the wants of an ordinary family were to be seized alike from Whig or Tory. Life and property were at the mercy of foreign hirelings. The attempts to restrain the Hessians were given up, under the apology that the habit of plunder prevented desertions. A British officer reports officially : ' They were led to believe, before they left Hesse-Cassel, that they were to come to America to establish their private fortunes, and they have acted with that principle.' "¹

The story of British and Hessian depredations and atrocities in Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia differs very little from the details of German atrocities in Belgium during the present war in Europe. The main difference is that the German mercenaries in the American Revolution were frequently under the command of British officers, and British troops, in a few instances,

¹ " History of the United States," Bancroft.

joined with the German hirelings in these crimes.

" Before the end of three months after the capture of Savannah, all the property, real and personal, of the rebels in Georgia was disposed of. For further gains, Indians were encouraged to bring in slaves wherever they could find them. All families in South Carolina were subjected to the visits of successive sets of banditti, who received commissions as volunteers with no pay or emolument but that derived from rapine, and who, roaming about at pleasure, robbed the plantations, alike of patriots and loyalists. . . .

" The property of the greatest part of the inhabitants of South Carolina was confiscated. Families were divided; patriots outlawed and savagely assassinated; houses burned, and women and children driven shelterless into the forests; districts so desolated that they seemed the abode only of orphans and widows. Left mainly to her own resources, it was through the depths of wretchedness that her sons were to bring her back to her place in the republic, after suffering more, and daring more, and achieving more than the men of any other state."

" All free male adults in Charleston, including the aged, and the infirm and even the loyalists, were counted and paroled as prisoners, of whom Clinton, in this vainglorious way, raised the number to 5,000."

" The value of the spoil which was distributed by the English and Hessian commissaries of captures, amounted to about three hundred thousand pounds sterling; the dividend of a major-general exceeded four thousand guineas. There was no restraint on private rapine; the silver plate of the planters was carried off; all negroes that had belonged to rebels were seized, even though they had themselves sought an asylum within the British lines, and at one embarkation 2,000 of them were shipped to the West Indies for sale. British and German officers thought more of amassing fortunes than of reuniting the empire. . . .

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"The rear of the old Virginia line, commanded by Colonel Buford, arriving too late to reinforce the garrison of Charleston, had retreated toward the north-east of the state. They were pursued and on May 29 overtaken by Tarleton with 700 cavalry and mounted infantry. Buford himself, a few who were mounted, and about 100 of the infantry, saved themselves by flight. The rest, making no resistance, vainly sued for quarter. None was granted. A hundred and thirteen were killed on the spot; 150 were too badly hacked to be moved; fifty-three only could be brought into Camden as prisoners. The tidings of this massacre, borne through the southern forests, excited horror and anger; but Tarleton received from Cornwallis the highest encomiums."¹

At King's Mountain the American patriots, under Campbell and Shelby, won a great victory over the British and Hessians. "Among the captives there were house-burners and assassins, private soldiers who had witnessed the sorrows of children and women, robbed and wronged, shelterless, stripped of all clothes but those they wore."

"The victory at King's Mountain, which in the spirit of the American soldiers was like the rising at Concord, in its effects like the success at Bennington, changed the aspect of the war." The triumph at King's Mountain was soon followed by a more glorious victory for the Americans in the defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens, and the massacre of Buford's men was avenged. The

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens was a great achievement for the Americans under the command of Morgan.

Sir Banastre Tarleton, who commanded the British troops at Cowpens, was a son of a Liverpool merchant and was educated at Oxford. After the American war, he entered Parliament and continued a member for Liverpool from 1790 to 1812. He was made a major-general in 1794 and a general in 1812. He lived for some time with the actress Mary Robinson, but died without issue in 1833.

Tarleton was perhaps the most cruel and atrocious of British officers in the American Revolution. "This officer and his corps set fire to all the houses and destroyed all the corn from Camden down to Nelson's ferry; he beat the widow of a general officer because she could not tell where Marion was encamped, burned her dwelling, laid waste everything about it, and did not leave her a change of raiment."¹

The British issued an order recalling the paroles of many of those who had surrendered at Charleston and required that they should perform military service under the British. "The attempt to enforce this order, with the barbarities of Colonel Banastre Tarleton and certain Tory bands,

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

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provoked a bloody partisan conflict in the upper districts, especially of South Carolina, which contributed more than any other cause to turn the scale against the British in the remote South.”¹

The Hessians in America carried on a campaign in a vast and sparsely settled country; in the present war the Germans have been limited to a much smaller area and a densely populated country in Belgium. Their methods and barbarities in Belgium have appeared more shocking than the atrocities of the Hessians in America only because the victims of their murderous practices were more numerous and accessible, and the property to be looted was more valuable and compactly located. The following is an excerpt from an American history telling a story of German atrocities in America in 1780. It would answer the purpose of a news item from Belgium in 1914.

“The destruction of property and life assumed still more hideous forms, when the peremptory orders and example of Cornwallis were followed by subordinates in remote districts away from supervision. Cruel measures seek and find cruel agents; officers whose delight was in blood patrolled the country, burned houses, ravaged estates, and put to death whom they would. The wives and daughters of the opulent were left with no fit clothing, no shelter but hovels too mean to attract the destroyer. Of a sudden the woodman in his cabin would find his house surrounded, and he or his guest might be shot, because he was not in arms for the king. No

¹ “Encyclopædia Britannica.”

engagement by proclamation or by capitulation was respected. There was no question of proofs and no trial. For two years cold-blooded assassinations, often in the house of the victim and in the presence of his wife and little children, were perpetrated by men holding the king's commission. The enemy were determined to break every man's spirit, or to take his life."¹

In certain sections of America there is a deep-seated prejudice against England. This prejudice has been observed in American families whose ancestors were subjected to indignities and cruelties during the American Revolution. Since the foundation of this government, the name of Hessian has been suggestive of rapine, lust and barbarism. The German mercenaries were the principal and most merciless aggressors in the American Revolution, but British troops were also engaged in the corrupt and brutal practices. This prejudice against England has been handed down from father to son, and those families who have inherited this prejudice are more familiar with the story of barbarities than with the details of recruiting English regiments in Germany. And it is easier to remember the stories of wrong and injustice which one heard at his fireside from his parents than to recall the details of history regarding English dynasties. There were willing tongues to tell the story of family and national

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

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grievances, but there was none to explain that these wrongs were committed under the direction of a German king who sat on the throne of Great Britain.

There are few Americans who have read the life of Cornwallis ; not many know that he was a man of " inflexible integrity," sterling and independent character. They have forgotten, if they ever knew, that Cornwallis was opposed to the war with the American colonies, and that in pacifying Ireland he won the respect and goodwill of both Roman Catholics and Orangemen. They remember only that Cornwallis served King George and was in command of the army that committed so many atrocious crimes in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

It is not uncommon to find American citizens who are strong pro-Ally with a sort of mental reservation of prejudice against England. They will tell you that Germany ought not to win ; that her policies are dangerous to democracy and civilization and her barbarities unspeakable. They say that the Allies must win, and, if necessary, America should help them win. At the same time, they express some apprehension about England and acknowledge a prejudice against the English. While this prejudice against England is found in certain sections and with some old American families, it is perhaps safe to say that every

respectable patriotic American citizen feels the deepest sympathy for France and Belgium, and many prayers have gone out from American fire-sides on behalf of Belgium and France. The fervent prayer is that France and Belgium may win and that Belgium may be restored to the sovereignty of her territory with such compensation and redress as it may be possible to secure. Americans remember Rochambeau and Lafayette and the French troops that aided them in defeating the Hessians ; they have ignored the fact that a weak autocrat was on the throne of France when France was giving valuable aid to America. If they are told that a Bourbon king of France gave assistance to America because he wished to strike England they will tell you that the French troops caught the inspiration of liberty in America, and when they returned to France they aided in destroying the Bourbon dynasty.

Great Britain paid a big price for the use of German hirelings and her alliance with German rulers against her own people. She lost her most valuable colonies, and a hundred years of peace and cordial relations with America have not entirely wiped out prejudice against England in this country. Very little prejudice remains, but all that remains can be traced to those barbarities which have so long been characteristic of Germany and against which Great Britain

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is now so heroically struggling on behalf of civilization.

It goes without saying that the preposterous claims of German propagandists touching the alleged friendship of Germany for the American colonies are fully answered by these salient facts in American history.

France sent money, ships and troops to America and some of her bravest and ablest sons offered their fortunes and lives in the cause of the American colonies. Spain sent money and Russia maintained the most cordial relations with America and gave valuable aid. Holland advanced money and entertained the most friendly relations with representatives of the United States. Exactly five months before the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed, a treaty was concluded with Sweden. The King of Sweden had sent a message to Franklin expressing his desire to recognize the United States and enter into a treaty with this country. The ambassador of Gustavus at Paris said : " I hope it will be remembered that Sweden was the first Power in Europe which, without being solicited, offered its friendship to the United States." Denmark was very unfriendly and America received no favours, nor was she accorded all the rights and privileges to which she was entitled. Denmark was the most un-

friendly of the European Governments, but the attitude of the Government was not an expression of the will of the people. Denmark, like England, was dominated by German policies. Its feeble and half-witted king was Duke of Holstein and had a voice in the German Diet, and his minister of foreign affairs was Count Bernstorff, a Hanoverian by birth. Frederick the Great was suspicious of Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution and wished France success in her support of the American colonies, but he refused to receive a representative of the United States and would enter into no negotiations with America.

Prussia was an ally of Great Britain in the war of 1812 between the United States and England, although it did not appear that German troops were used against the Americans during that war. George III. was still King of England, but having become hopelessly insane, the government was conducted under the regency of his son, afterward George IV. Subsequent to the war of 1812, and prior to 1830, the people of the United States found nothing in their domestic affairs or foreign relations which gave them much concern about the Germans. Financial and other serious troubles came to this country toward the close of President Jackson's second term. In those troublous times the Germans attracted attention; they never fail to attract attention when we are in trouble.

CHAPTER III

PAUPER IMMIGRANTS FROM GERMANY

THE United States Government kept no official record of immigration prior to 1820. "For the period before that time the chief sources of information as to immigration are the frequent newspaper allusions to the arrival of vessels bringing immigrants, of whom a certain number were 'foreigners,' *i.e.* those who spoke a language other than English." French and English immigrants outnumbered the Germans prior to 1830. Less than 7,000 Germans came to this country between 1820 and 1830, but they began coming in great numbers after 1830. Periods of the greatest oppression in Germany are reflected in the immigration statistics of the United States. The governmental policies in Germany which drove so many Germans to this country are the same policies which German-Americans have so strenuously supported since the beginning of the present war of nations. And this is the incongruous phase of the situation which the un-hyphenated American cannot understand. Nor has the hyphenated American offered any explanation.

Irish immigrants have been coming to this country in great numbers since 1820. The Germans began coming in great numbers during the decade 1830 to 1840, and during five decades, 1850 to 1890, the Germans greatly outnumbered the Irish. During the years 1881 to 1890, 1,452,970 German immigrants arrived in the United States; and from 1820 to 1910, 5,389,548 German immigrants came to this country. Next to Germany comes Ireland in the number of new citizens furnished to this country but in the aggregate Germany is about 1,200,000 ahead of Ireland.¹

"The problem of immigration is a problem of assimilation; and this means conformity to modes of living, modes of thought, and modes of action in many different fields of activity." How long can we continue to assimilate? This is a vital question in America to-day, and events since the beginning of this war have accentuated the apprehension of all true Americans. In the opinion of many thoughtful Americans, the foreign population is growing more rapidly than our power to assimilate it. So far as the Germans are concerned, we reached the limit of our power of assimilation some years ago. We are not assimilating the Germans and it is very evident

¹ "History of the United States," Andrews.

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that they do not want to be assimilated. There are certain chemicals which can be dissolved and held in solution in water up to a definite degree of density ; but at that point the assimilative capability ceases, and any further addition of the chemical revolutionizes the condition of affairs and precipitates the entire mass as being foreign to the medium of solution. So it would seem to be with our hyphenated Americans. We are now not only in imminent danger of losing the traits we call American but in quite as great danger of losing the institutions we call democracy. This gloomy view of the present condition of affairs appears to be warranted by the record of German immigrants and German propaganda in America. One need not go outside the record in an investigation of this question. It is a matter of fact ; not a hypothetical question in American politics.

“ The financial distress which makes the year 1837 one of the most memorable in our annals was by no means the only issue which the people and the new President were forced to meet. Foreign complications of various sorts arrested public attention. The steadily increasing stream of immigration to this country, filling the streets with beggars and the almshouses with inmates, had already led to legislation by the several States ; but more, it was felt, was needed.

“ To such as thought on the matter of immigration, to such as considered the number and character of the newcomers, what they did and where they went after reaching our shores, the time seemed at hand for regulation or restriction. From such statistics as could be had, statistics far from accurate,

it appeared that 100,000 immigrants were arriving annually. Bringing with them all the prejudices of their native land, and while still in character and opinion what they were while a part of some European society, they were in many States invested with the franchise, and the whole administration of government was subject to change by men but just arrived from a land where they possessed no voice in the affairs of state.

"So impressed was the General Court of Massachusetts with the evil of what was believed to be the systematic 'dumping on our shores' of the paupers of Europe, that a resolution was adopted instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives to endeavour to secure the passage of a law by Congress to prevent the further introduction of paupers into our country. The Massachusetts resolution was adopted by the Senate. Circulars of inquiry were sent to U.S. consuls in Europe and replies promptly returned.

"The consul at Bremen reported that it sometimes happened that families, almshouses, and civil authorities, in order to get rid of troublesome dependents, paid the cost of transportation to America. Most of the German immigrants were persons who, when they paid their passage, had little or no money left, and might therefore become paupers on landing. It was the custom of the Government to require of such persons before embarking to renounce allegiance, lest they should return and become a burden. The consul at Hesse-Cassel knew that criminals sentenced for life or a long term were given the option of emigrating, and if they went their passage was paid. But he believed the real inducement to emigrate was the low rate of passage. Steerage passage could be had for sixteen dollars, and to make this pay, ship-owners sent agents into the interior of Germany and induced the very poor to emigrate by assurance of two dollars a day as soon as they landed in the United States. Allured by such prospects, old men and women sold their clothes, begged and

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scraped money together in every way to pay the passage, only to land as paupers."¹

The third great wave of immigration came in 1848. Distress abroad was the cause of this. In 1848 the number of immigrants exceeded 296,000. "In Europe the winter of 1845 was so severe that great areas of vineyards were destroyed. The floods which, in the spring, swept down the valleys of the Danube, the Elbe, the Main, the Moselle and the Rhine brought ruin to thousands of farms, and the failure of the potato crop and the high price of breadstuffs that followed spread famine among the peasantry. Another bitter winter reduced the peasants almost to starvation. America seemed their only hope; thither they turned and by the end of September, 1847, more than 73,000 had come from Germany, which was 40,000 more than came in 1845."¹

"The great centres of migration were Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse, Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, and the Grand Duchy of Baden. In Bavaria the people of village after village sold their property, and with the clergyman at their head, set out for Havre, the nearest port to the upper Rhine. 'It is a lamentable sight,' said one who saw these communities on the move, 'when you are travelling in the spring or autumn on the Strasbourg road, to see the long files of carts that meet you every mile, carrying the whole property of these poor wretches who are about to cross the Atlantic on the faith of

¹ "History of the People of the United States," McMaster.

a lying prospectus. There they go slowly along, their miserable tumbrils drawn by such starved, drooping beasts that your only wonder is how they can possibly hope to reach Havre alive. In each cart was such scanty property as the owner could afford to take along, and piled on the top of all are the women and children, the sick and the bedridden, and all who are too exhausted with the journey to walk. One might take it for a convoy of wounded, the relics of some battlefield, but for the rows of little white heads peeping from beneath the ragged hoods.' The political upheaval of 1848 sent tens of thousands more, and that year the number of European immigrants was over 296,000. The Germans came from the Rhine, Wurtemberg, and Prussia chiefly."¹

Many of the hyphenated Americans who have been so ungrateful and un-American since the beginning of this war are the descendants of the pauper immigrants who came from Germany to this country during that stormy period of European history, 1836 to 1850. They have forgotten the flag that protected and the hands that fed their homeless and hungry fathers and mothers. Many of these Germans whose parents came to this country as paupers are now prosperous men and not a few are wealthy. They have held great demonstrations, expressing their sympathy for and pledging their support to the country which their fathers and mothers deserted. When a submerged piratical craft sunk an unarmed ship and sent to the bottom of the Irish

¹ "History of the People of the United States," McMaster.

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Sea sons and daughters of the men and women who fed the pauper parents of these German-Americans, many of the hyphenated Americans publicly expressed their approval of these murders.

The reader may get a more comprehensive view of the actual present situation in America, regarding German power and influence, by reference to a table showing the foreign-born population of the United States. The following figures are based on the Census returns for 1910 :

Foreign-born Population in the United States.

England	-	-	-	-	-	877,719
Scotland	-	-	-	-	-	261,076
Wales	-	-	-	-	-	82,488
Total United Kingdom, exclusive of Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	1,221,283
Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	1,352,251
Total from United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	2,573,534
Canada	-	-	-	-	-	1,209,717
Australia	-	-	-	-	-	9,035
Total from Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	3,792,286
Italy	-	-	-	-	-	1,343,125
Russia and Finland	-	-	-	-	-	1,732,462
France	-	-	-	-	-	117,418
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	49,400
Serbia	-	-	-	-	-	4,639
Japan	-	-	-	-	-	67,744
Total population born in countries of Allies	-	-	-	-	-	7,107,074

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Germany	-	-	-	-	-	2,501,333
Austria-Hungary	-	-	-	-	-	1,670,582
Total Teutonic	-	-	-	-	-	4,171,915
Turkey in Europe	-	-	-	-	-	32,230
Turkey in Asia	-	-	-	-	-	59,702
Total Teutonic Alliance	-	-	-	-	-	4,263,847
Numerical advantage of Allies	-	-	-	-	-	2,843,227

The above figures give the Germans and their allies a larger numerical strength than they actually have ; this is explained by the fact that there are some German-Americans who do not admire the Kaiser and are not in sympathy with Germany in this war. These loyal Americans are law-abiding, unobtrusive citizens who demean themselves peaceably and with propriety ; the public does not hear so much about them or from them as from the disloyal hyphenated Americans. Moreover, the Scandinavians and Netherlanders in America, with very few exceptions, are in sympathy with the Allies. These Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Dutch are among the best foreign-born citizens of America. They are intelligent, industrious, and loyal to the American Government and its democratic institutions ; their education is more refined, and they have higher ideals than the Germans. The evidence of their superiority in education, training and culture

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is found not only in their loyalty to the country of their adoption, their respect for the law and their orderly and unobtrusive demeanour, but also in their support of measures looking to civic progress and social betterment, and in their selection of vocations. The German-Americans predominate in the grog-shops, low dives, dance halls, pawn-shops, and numerous artifices for money-making and corrupt practices in politics.

A very large majority of the Greeks in America are in sympathy with the Allies. These people are intensely patriotic. From their earliest history the Greeks have been devoted to constitutional government and popular rights; centuries of subjection to the Turks could not destroy their ideals and patriotism, and the late social and political renaissance of Greece won the admiration of the world. There is not a civilized country in the world which has not felt the refining influence of Greek art and literature, and there is hardly one that has not been influenced by Grecian philosophy and democracy.

In summing up the numerical strength of the pro-Allies in America, as represented by the foreign-born citizens, it is quite proper to add the following to the foregoing table :

Foreign-born Scandinavians in America	-	1,250,733
Foreign-born Hollanders	- - -	120,063
		————— 1,370,796

Foreign-born Greeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	101,282
Foreign-born neutrals friendly to Allies	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,472,078

German propagandists have laid great stress on the claim that they are numerically very strong in America; the foregoing figures are presented simply to show the facts. The great strength of Germany in America is found in the vociferous vulgarity and bumptiousness and the corrupt and lawless practices of its advocates.

German immigrants invaded the Southern States immediately after the Civil War; not in great numbers, but in great capacity for cunning and vicious practices. A very large number came with packs on their backs, peddling wares which were very much needed in the South at that time. Cotton was selling at an average price above thirty cents a pound; and the prospect was inviting for the moneylender and tradesman. The Germans were trained and shrewd tradesmen, and they "took to barter like a duck takes to water." In a little while the peddlers had thrown aside their packs and discontinued their migrations. They "settled down and opened stores," and within a few years they were the leading merchants. The industrial depression and financial distress of that section of the country made curative and remedial statutes necessary. In numerous cases the landowner was without stock,

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agricultural implements and sufficient supplies "to run him" in making a crop. The condition of the landless man was more helpless and distressing; the landlord was more than willing to rent his land, but to secure the rental charge he retained a first lien on the crop, and the tenant, without stock, implements and supplies "enough to run him" could not make a crop. The crop lien law was a statute to meet this difficulty. Under that law the renter or cropper could mortgage not only a crop which he had not made but even a crop which he had not planted; in other words he could mortgage a thing which did not exist, something which with his labour and the help of the soil and seasons he intended to produce. This law enabled the tenant to get "advances to carry him until he could make a crop," by pledging the crop which he intended to make; this pledge, of course, was second to the landlord's lien.

"Making advances" to men who would not work, or who cultivated very poor land, was not a very safe venture; if the mortgagor ran away, or was too lazy to work, or the seasons very bad, the crop lien was poor security. However, the profits charged on the merchandise advanced and the interest on the money loaned were very high. There could be no warranty against bad seasons, but the business was safeguarded with criminal

statutes. Needless to say they were all in favour of the creditor, and the cropper who ran away or tried to "hide out his crop" found a good many obstacles in his way. Under the operation of the crop lien law a system of serfdom was established which brought great hardships and suffering to the poor whites and negroes, and a great deal of the lawlessness and outbreaks of racial animosities may be traced to those sections of the South where the evils of the crop lien law were the common practice.

The crop lien law was the golden moment of opportunity for the ubiquitous and versatile German. His education, training, experience, thrift, and, above all, his love for the "almighty dollar," pitted against the illiteracy, lack of training and experience, shiftless habits, guileless frankness and improvidence of the poor whites and negroes, was a fight in which the odds were against the man who earned his bread by the sweat of his face. The German "toiled not, neither did he spin," but he soon came into possession of great wealth. Some of the largest landed estates fell into the possession of Germans who arrived in this country as pauper immigrants; and quite a number of wealthy bankers and brokers in New York and other large American cities made their great fortunes by robbing the poor whites and negroes. Some of these Teutonic

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bloodsuckers returned to Germany, where they have been living in affluence on their ill-gotten gains. And quite a number of these extortioners who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States before returning to Germany have been engaged, since the beginning of the present war, with their confederates in this country in conspiracies not only against the Allies but quite as much against this country.

The outstanding facts are that, during many years, the Germans have had a monopoly of the whisky business in the South. They have debauched everything that could be reached with their money or political intrigue. The story of corrupt practices, crime and vice, with the suffering and sorrow that the German whisky dealers have brought upon the poor whites and negroes of the South is as shocking as the record of atrocities in Belgium.

The American student of sociology need not go to Belgium to study the record of German cruelties and intrigues. He can get the story from the poor whites and negroes of the South. There is no purer English blood in America than the poor whites of the South. Their fathers were with Campbell and Shelby at King's Mountain, and they were with Morgan, Pickens and McCall at Cowpens where they defeated "Tarleton and his terrible men," and made possible the capture

of Cornwallis at Yorktown. These patriots of the American Revolution were able to drive the German Hessians from Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia, but their sons were unable to withstand the greed and artifices of the Hessians who invaded the southern country a hundred years later.

CHAPTER IV

GERMANY HAS NO RESPECT FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

"AMONG the many rumours that have been circulated from time to time concerning German aims and ambitions, one of the most persistent has been in connection with the Danish West Indian Islands, about the value of which to Germany much has been written in German books. . . . Well, it has been credibly stated that Germany used her influence at Copenhagen to prevent the Danes from selling their West Indian colonies to the United States; and be that as it may, it is affirmed on the authority of *Export* (July 24, 1902) that the Hamburg-American Steamship Co. promised to double the tonnage of its ships to the West Indies, reorganize its service to Central and South America, and establish a new emporium for goods destined for Europe and a graving and repairing yard at St. Thomas, on condition that Denmark did not sell the islands to America."¹

Our trouble in the Samoan Islands was due to the truculent action and intrigue of the German consul which nearly brought on war between the Powers. "It was just after the German flag had been fired upon in connection with that episode, and when feeling in America was running dangerously high . . . nearly 200 German organi-

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine," Harper Bros.

zations met in Chicago, and, with *hochs* for the *Fatherland* banded themselves together and adopted resolutions including these words: "We believe it to be not only in the interests of our descendants, but in the interests of the Republic as well, to foster the German language and traits of German character which we brought to these shores."¹ Similar meetings were held in Kansas City and Toledo.

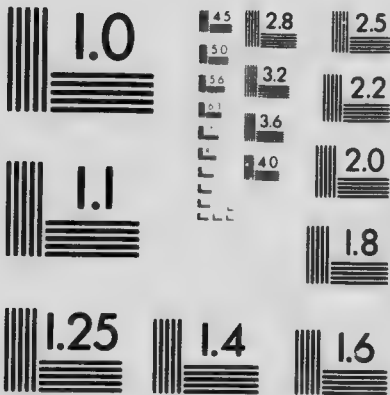
The "traits of German character" which the pauper parents of a large number of these hyphenated Americans "brought to these shores," were observed with grave concern by the people of Massachusetts, New York and other Atlantic coast States who were furnishing food, raiment and shelter to German immigrants from 1830 to 1850. And these "traits of character," essentially Germanic, caused Benjamin Franklin grave apprehension, and aroused the elder Pitt in his most eloquent and patriotic protests against the purchase of German traits of character. They are the traits of character which have been manifested in criticism of the American Congress and President; the traits of character manifested in the falsification of American passports, conspiring to defraud the United States by making and filing false manifests for contraband ship-

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine," Harper Bros.



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ments to Germany, and in the attempt to dynamite the Canadian bridge; the traits of character which have insulted and trampled under foot the American flag; the traits of character which control and direct the vicious and lawless beer trust, and they are the "traits of German character" which rejoiced at the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the murder of defenceless men, women and children whose colonial fathers made it possible for pauper German immigrants, regardless of their traits of character, to settle in this country and enjoy its opportunities and protection.

"During the Spanish-American war Pan-Germans carried on quite as violent a campaign against Americans as they did against the English during the Transvaal war, and for the same reasons; partly to educate Germans to a sense of national pride, but, largely, of course, because America, as England, is felt to be a serious obstacle to the realization of German aspirations. It was the Pan-German spirit that provoked German sympathy with Spain. It was the Pan-German spirit that was responsible for the well-known German-American naval incidents. It is the Pan-German spirit that causes German cruisers to prowl about the coast-line of Venezuela.¹

"The visit of Prince Henry to the United States was eminently Pan-German in conception and execution. . . . At the beginning of the Spanish-American war Germans anticipated America's defeat. A careful policy of *petit soins* took the place of vulgar abuse; which surely reached its apogee when the statue of Frederick the Great was sent as a

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine," Harper Bros.

present to Washington. With this policy of presents and Imperial solicitude—which Pan-Germans abominate—has arisen the Pan-German idea of driving in a German wedge between England and America, and setting Americans and Britons by the ears. The climax—resulting in an anti-climax—of this policy was obtained when the German Ambassador endeavoured to discredit Lord Pauncefoot.¹

"The continental agitation (which Germany encouraged) to organize an alliance against America was foiled chiefly by the determined attitude taken up by England, who refused to listen to such a scheme. At that time the German Press began to talk loudly of acquiring coaling stations, and, in particular, the *Marine Politische Correspondenz* harped persistently on the idea that Spain had offered Germany a coaling station in the Philippines. Whether this was so or not, there ensued out of that idea the Manila incident, and once more it was owing to the firm attitude of the British officer in command at the station (Captain Chichester) that serious trouble between Germans and Americans was avoided. As will be remembered, matters reached such a pitch that the German flag was fired upon, and a German launch narrowly escaped being sunk; but America had, by this time, won several great battles in the Caribbean and it was wisely thought inopportune at Berlin not to push matters further."¹

"When German efforts were made to prove to the world, as prelude to Prince Henry's visit, that England had endeavoured to thwart America's action in Cuba, Americans only smiled, for they knew their man. They knew, whatever documents Germany cared to bring forth to prove to the contrary, that it was England who prevented the Powers from formally requesting the United States not to interfere in Cuba, which would have meant war. Europe knows that now, but she did not at that time, and England prevented Europe from putting it to the test. But Americans also

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine," Harper Bros.

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knew that Lord Pauncefote was incapable of double dealing. Unfortunately, the blow proved too much for him, and it is no exaggeration to say that it drove him into an early grave. His rival, Dr. Holleben, it would seem from inexperience rather than out of malice, committed a serious mistake, was recalled, and fell precipitately into neglected obscurity, without a passing note of recognition."¹

Ambassador Holleben came to this country with the idea that the great American dailies could be influenced after the German fashion. Poultney Bigelow, in a letter to *The New York Times*, states that the German Ambassador "sought" him out and "asked my help in an effort to silence one of the three most important dailies of New York—one which published much that was tiresome reading in Potsdam." Of course, I sympathized with him in his distress, but advised him not to approach the proprietor of that paper with anything but news." . . . Later, "Official Germany discovered that she had made a blunder in seeking to bully Admiral Dewey in Manila, and now commenced a series of apologetic moves intended to show us that Germany was our true friend and England our hated rival. The Emperor ordered a yacht built in American waters; he sent also some casts to an American university. Then he sent his brother Henry to make a tour of the country and to stir

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine," Harper Bros.

up the latent love of Fatherland among the millions of our fellow-citizens whose fathers suffered with Fritz Reuter and Turnwater Jahan. . . . Admiral Dewey conspicuously absented himself from the welcoming committee. The Emperor sent over a box full of royal decorations, but aside from one or two weaklings, the box returned as it came."¹

Had we needed a friend to help us, upon whose fidelity we knew we could rely, at the time of our troubles with Spain, we would have turned to England. McKinley knew the actual situation and he was not a truckling pacifist; kind and gentle but, withal, a man of courage, and, above all, he was a true American. He had served his country in war and peace and his most intimate friend and chief counsellor was another American, positive, vigorous and fearless. One report is that President McKinley sent a cablegram to Admiral Sampson off Santiago, directing, under no circumstances, to attempt to force the entrance of Santiago if there was the remotest chance of losing a ship, as war with Germany was imminent. The newspapers published a press dispatch from St. Louis giving an interview with Prof. Roland G. Usher, in which he is reported as saying that he knew of a secret verbal alliance between the

¹ "Poultney Bigelow," *The New York Times*.

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United States and the Allies. "We entered into the agreement in 1897 when McKinley was President of the United States." Another interesting coincident explanatory and in verification of the "secret verbal agreement" is a personal letter which came to the present writer a few days after publication of the interview with Prof. Usher. This letter is from an Englishman whose family name is known and honoured in every part of the civilized world and in many parts of the uncivilized world. The writer is a scholar and historian who has been intimately associated with the members of the British diplomatic service :

"Yes, indeed, it is as you say and Germany has been interfering with the politics of this land for half a century. There are very few people in the U.S.A. who realize how near they were to trouble with Germany during the Spanish-American war. There was an hour, as I was credibly informed, when the German fleet was preparing for a rush to South America, portions of which they meant to seize and hold as the nucleus of a new colonial empire. All this would have been nominally and incidentally through the Spanish war. But the English Admiralty never needs to prepare. Its fleet is always ready; and at a moment's notice a large part was sent to Gibraltar under a strong Admiral as a gentle reminder to Germany that the road to the western world was blocked."

A few days after the above-quoted letter was written, editorials appeared in several leading newspapers of this country in which the mere suggestion of any sort of understanding between

America and Great Britain at the time of the Spanish-American war was ridiculed.

The author of this book sent copies of these editorials to his correspondent and received a letter, from which the following is taken :

" I remember your reference to the book of Professor Usher, but you were only quoting from his text, and of course not assuming responsibility for its exactness. For my own part I have no actual personal knowledge as to the existence of any such treaty between America and England. I should be inclined to doubt the existence of an actually binding treaty which involved the U.S.A. in matters which were solely European. But there are all kinds of treaties, and some of the most enduring have never been reduced to writing. One of the strongest weapons possessed by diplomacy is the sentiment of a land, and it may often be relied upon *without writing*. It is possible that very direct understandings of harmonious type were made between the governments of this land and Great Britain, at the time to which Professor Usher refers. It may even be that the understanding was reduced to writing, but I do not personally know of its existence or its contents.

" Now as regards the danger to the U.S.A. during the Spanish war, this is a different matter altogether. Relations of mine were living then at Southsea, which is just by the great naval heart of England, Portsmouth. Their house was constantly full of naval officers, some of whom were very well informed on their special subjects. On several occasions at Portsmouth every available officer and sailor was hurried on to his ship, and the fleet made ready for action almost at an hour's notice. Some black thundercloud would be hanging over the land with the word ' Germany ' written across it in forked lightning. The past thirty years were full of these sorrows. Neither the world nor the newspapers heard about these serious moments *but they were* horribly real, and were

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governed by a few anxious men sitting in London in whose minds were being turned over the dangerous secrets and trend of European politics. We longed for peace—and Germany made us live on a volcano !

“ It was at such an hour during the war between the U.S.A. and Spain that many of our naval friends suddenly hurried away from peaceful homes and went aboard their ships to strengthen the great fleet which England always keeps in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. It was no idle cause or rumour, but the acknowledged danger of an incursion by Germany on South America whilst the U.S.A. was grappling with Spain—a threatened dislocation of set policies as unacceptable to Great Britain as to your country. Facts of this type are not easily reduced to names, dates or ‘written treaties of alliance.’ ”

The New York *Tribune*, of June 20, contained a very interesting article by Prof. Roland G. Usher, from which the following is taken :

“ What now is the truth about this understanding of 1897 ? Certain things took place ; certain policies were discarded ; a rearrangement of the Gulf of Mexico, very favourable to us, was made which England possessed the power to have prevented. It is the duty of the historian to explain, as well as to enumerate facts.

“ We know of German plans for expansion in the Gulf and South America ; we see an actual attempt and know of more projected ; we know of German plans to keep the English busy in South Africa, which materialized in the Boer war.

“ The statesmen of the two nations talked over the situation and found their aims identical and their principles and general purposes the same. Both were agreed that German colonies, protectorates, influence in the Gulf of Mexico or in the Philippines would be dangerous to both countries. To thwart this was the purpose of these conversations which

indeed, went no further than a knowledge beforehand of the action which the other probably would take if certain circumstances should arise. To the events of this last few months it had obviously no reference; that phase of Pan-Germanism was not yet unmistakable, and any attempt to execute it by war in Europe was not believed credible in London or Washington at that time.

"Since last August it has been clear to the least acute that the vast majority of Americans believed the Allies were in the right and the Germans very much in the wrong. To that has been added a dominant desire in American opinion for a victory for the Allies, an increasingly strong feeling that a German victory will be inimical to American interests and principles. Indeed, my statements about the American attitude toward Pan-Germanism made in this particular chapter in dispute—and which are, by the way, the whole gist of this 'understanding' and 'alliance'—have proved to be absolutely accurate. The understanding consisted in an admission by American statesmen that American interests and principles were those of England and France and not those of Germany and Austria, and that the United States probably would act in accordance with its interests and principles, should international troubles arise. The result would place the United States naturally on the side of the Allies and not on that of the Germans.

"There are not many people in this country to-day who do not regard a German victory as a misfortune for all that we stand for as a nation. What else do the President's notes mean? What else echoes from the press in East and West? We are as a nation for the Allies and few of us have much hesitation about saying so. There is the unmistakable and undeniable fact which the Germans find in that chapter of 'Pan-Germanism,' and they do not need my statements to prove to them its truth. Indeed they find utterly plausible earlier understandings or even an alliance.

"The attitude of the Imperial Government in the submarine cases, in particular the recent note on the *Lusitania*, was

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calculated to create the impression here that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was justifiable and that the United States Government was misinformed in regard to obvious facts of such a nature as to insinuate that our neutrality was only a mask. Now, simultaneous with these events, we find this press campaign started in the official German organ, *The Fatherland*, in New York, and pursued with promptness and persistence in every German organ in this country and by the official press bureau of Germany. Past experience with German methods teaches us that such coincidences mean something."

In this connection it is also interesting to note that at the time of the Spanish-American war a detailed plan of invasion of the United States had been prepared by the German General Staff and even published under the title of "Operationen ueber See."

It is well known that Germany was not only in full sympathy with Spain during our war with that country, but also very aggressive in trying to form a coalition against America. Americans were subjected to annoyance and, in many cases, to actual insults in Germany; American students at German universities were treated with great indignities. German-Americans, openly and frequently, and at times very offensively to Americans, expressed their sympathy with Spain, and German newspapers were very strongly with Spain. Since the beginning of the present war, German-Americans have been very voluble and insistent in their talk about the United States selling arms and munitions of war to the Allies; they

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do not refer to the fact that "all, or nearly all, the rifles used by the Spaniards in their war with this country were Mausers; also all the ammunition used was said at that time to have been supplied by Germany."

Volumes have been written to show that Canning had nothing to do with the Monroe Doctrine; quite as much has been written to prove that he had a great deal to do with it. Monroe's declaration was the embodiment of all that had been evolved under the principles of the Declaration of Independence; an expression of sympathy for other colonies struggling for independence, and a declaration of self-protection. Several months before the publication of the message from Monroe, it was known that Jefferson had written: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in Cis-Atlantic affairs." Henry Clay was the most earnest and eloquent advocate of the fundamental principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and he was perhaps the first. As early as 1816, Clay was fighting the battles of the South-American colonies before the American people. Before Canning suggested the matter to Rush, and before Mr. Jefferson wrote his "fundamental maxim," Clay introduced and secured the passage of a resolution by the House of Representatives expressing "the deep interest which the

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people of the United States feel for the Spanish provinces of South America, which are struggling to establish their liberty and independence."

English and American writers continue to wrangle over the history of the Monroe Doctrine, when, how and by whom it was created. Be that as it may, when Canning was at the head of foreign affairs in England, he "was the first to recognize the free States of Spanish-America, when he pronounced his famous dictum that 'the New World had been called into existence to redress the balance of the Old, and would in time outweigh and topple over the fabrics of kingcraft, upon which so many wise men had laboured for thousands of years.'"¹

Statesmen and diplomats have wrangled quite as much over the meaning or proper interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as over its origin and history. Germany has had but one policy on this question, and that policy has been ruthlessly to disregard it when she thought the time was opportune for striking at American policies and interests. The Monroe Doctrine is "an international impertinence," said Bismarck. Yet he was constrained to admit, when asked what was the greatest political fact of modern times, that it was not the crowning of the Prussian King at Versailles as German Emperor or any such

¹ "The New International Encyclopædia."

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scene in pageantry but the inherited and permanent fact that North America speaks English. In his interesting book, "The Americanization of the World," W. T. Stead said :

"The Holy Alliance has long since passed away, leaving behind it as its chief result the Monroe Doctrine, the promulgation of which was suggested by Canning to President Monroe as the most effective answer to the pretensions of the allied sovereigns of Central Europe. The centre of resistance to American principles in Europe lies at Berlin, and the leader against and great protagonist of Americanization is the Kaiser of Germany. There is something pathetic in the heroic pose of the German Emperor resisting the American flood. It is Canute over again, but the Kaiser has not planted himself on the shore, passively to wait the rising of the tide in order to rebuke the flattery of his courtiers ; he takes his stand where land and water meet, and with drawn sword defies the advancing tide."

More than a dozen years after Mr. Stead published his views on the Americanization of the world, including his opinion about the status of the Monroe Doctrine at that time, another noted English writer, A. Maurice Low, M.A., "Chief American Correspondent of the London *Morning Post*," "explained the attitude of Europe" toward the perplexing question of American policy. Mr. Low said :

"To speak quite frankly, the Monroe Doctrine is not popular in Europe, and that unpopularity comes not from what the Monroe Doctrine is, but rather from what it is not. We have no objection to the United States taking such precautions as may seem necessary to safeguard itself. England has done the same thing and has a Monroe Doctrine in the Persian Gulf."

And Mr. Low further informs his readers that, "wars of aggression or to satisfy dynastic ambitions belong to the past. The real diplomat of to-day is the hustler who carries a case of samples and speaks the universal language of 'thirty days, less two off for cash,' terms incomprehensible no doubt to many of us here, but which are as well understood by the guileless trader of the 'Middle Kingdom' as by the merchant of Bombay, the Manchester manufacturer and the Pittsburgh foundryman." And Mr. Low also tells his readers that, "modern statesmanship is dollar diplomacy," and, although that is a discredited term in the ears of some people, it is the true diplomacy of the twentieth century.

Mr. Low, unconsciously perhaps, invokes the Bernhardi doctrines in support of what he alleges has been the British policy. He says: "In some of the darker corners of the globe we had to administer justice in summary fashion. There is much virtue in a six-inch shell if properly aimed. We went up and down the world teaching civilization with ships and armies, and making the commerce of the world safe and open to all nations." In order to illustrate more effectively his doctrine by comparison, Mr. Low announces this dictum:

"To put all nations on the same plane, to bracket them together as entitled to the same respect, is an absurdity. The half barbarous nations of the Balkans are lower in the scale

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of civilization than England or France or Germany. The civilization of Central America has not yet been brought to the high standard of North America. This somewhat blunt way of stating facts may offend the sensibilities of the peoples of the Balkans, as it may those of the states of Central America, but they have the remedy in their own hands. . . . If there was no Monroe Doctrine, Latin America would have wholesome respect for British and German battleships. If we are not permitted to occupy territory, how can we exert pressure? If we cannot seize a custom house until a fine is paid, what redress have we? It will be remembered that a few years ago Great Britain, Germany and Italy, feeling they had just complaint against Venezuela, established a pacific blockade of one of its ports, much to the delight of the natives, who never having seen such a gallant spectacle believed it was arranged solely for their amusement, and enjoyed it hugely. . . . It was admitted by your President and his advisers that a pacific blockade was permissible, but it was also intimated to the Powers concerned that the sooner they found it convenient to order their ships away the better it would please the United States. A pacific blockade, however, not producing any tangible results in the way of cash, and the Monroe Doctrine prohibiting the allies from seizing and occupying territory, which the Venezuelans knew, a few shells were thrown into the port to remind its people that the ships had not been sent there to make a Latin-American holiday."

"The attitude of Europe toward the Monroe Doctrine" is the title of Mr. Low's article, and it was published in *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1914. Within four weeks after Mr. Low's article appeared in print, Great Britain and Germany were at war, and Mr. Low was in a position to observe that he had reposed too much confidence in "modern

statesmanship " and " dollar diplomacy " when he said that " wars of aggression or to satisfy dynastic ambitions belong to the past." Soon after the beginning of the war, English statesmen and writers contributed interesting articles to the American magazines and papers explaining and defending Great Britain's doctrines and governmental policies, especially regarding the present war. Early in the campaign, Mr. Low wrote a very able article which was " reprinted, in response to many requests, from *The New York Herald* of September 21, 1914." From that article are these noble thoughts and splendid words: " If ever a nation fought the battle of the world, fought for liberty and in the cause of righteousness, that nation is England. . . . She stands to-day the bulwark against militarism and a military oligarchy. She stands to-day for liberty, freedom of thought and action; for the subordination of the sword to the rule of law. She stands to-day the champion of Democracy, of the right of man to be ' sole sponsor of himself.' "

The nice things which Mr. Low said about Great Britain's democracy, a " bulwark against militarism " and the " subordination of the sword to the rule of law " were written less than ninety days after he said: " there is much virtue in a six-inch shell if properly aimed. . . . We went up and down the world teaching civilization with ships and armies." Mr. Low's facetious remarks

about German and British battleships throwing a few shells into Venezuelan ports "to remind its people that the ships had not been sent there to make a Latin-American holiday," would not make very pleasant reading from the English point of view at this time. Nor would his criticism of the "half barbarous nations of the Balkans" add very much to the English propaganda. According to the record which has been made since the beginning of this war, and in the opinion of English statesmen, the "half barbarous nations of the Balkans" have shown a higher civilization than Germany, with whom Mr. Low associated England in the very liberal use of well-aimed six-inch shells.

The theory that "modern statesmanship is dollar diplomacy," as stated by Mr. Low, is the materialism of Treitschke, Germanic doctrine; go "up and down the world teaching civilization with ships and armies" is precisely what the Kaiser wants to do and what he is trying to do. "War is the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power," said Bernhardt. Germany is the greatest "hustler" of modern times. That goes without saying; "and it must follow, as the night the day," that the "real diplomat" and "modern statesmanship" are "made in Germany."

German efficiency has been shown in her military organization and administration, in

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municipal administration and sanitary regulation. Police powers of a state can be administered more efficiently under military direction. For safeguarding the health of a community, in times of epidemics, and maintaining order in times of lawless disturbances, we sometimes find it necessary to support the police regulations with the military. The established militarism of Germany affords these permanent advantages in municipal regulations, hence Germany has clean, healthful and well ordered cities.

Industrialism has made wonderful progress in Germany during the present generation, so have materialism and militarism. Education has made great progress, illiteracy has been reduced to the minimum. But absolutism has made greater progress, and idealism and all things spiritual have been reduced to a minimum. The higher and better impulses of the human heart have been subordinated to things practical, and materialism has eaten the heart out of Germany. To modern Germany idealism or humanity is a stumbling-block, personal liberty or democracy is foolishness. Conquest and commerce are greater than humanity and honour.

The stronghold of "dollar diplomacy" is in Germany, although it has many able and aggressive advocates in America and England ; but it is not the highest order nor the most useful type of modern statesmanship, in the opinion of the

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world's wisest and best men. Viscount Bryce is an Englishman who is highly esteemed in America and regarded as a man who has high ideals of modern statesmanship. His ideal is not "dollar diplomacy," nor does he accept the Bernhardt doctrine that "war is the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power," and that great nations should "go up and down the world teaching civilization with ships and armies." Bryce takes quite the opposite view. He has given expression to ideals of State policies which appeal very strongly to the American people, and should appeal to all peoples whose institutions rest on the principles of democracy. Bryce says :

"The present war has had some unexpected consequences. It has called the attention of the world outside Germany to some amazing doctrines proclaimed there, which strike at the root of all international morality, as well as of all international law, and which threaten a return to the primitive savagery when every tribe was wont to plunder and massacre its neighbours. . . . Is there no such thing as a common humanity ? Are there no duties owed to it ? Is there none of that 'decent respect to the opinion of mankind' which the framers of the Declaration of Independence recognized ; no sense that even the greatest States are amenable to the sentiment of the civilized world ?"

"The Pan-American Congress in the City of Mexico in 1901, declared that :

"America, as well as Europe, is inhabited to-day by free and independent nations whose sovereign existence has the right to the same respect, and whose internal public law does

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not admit of intervention of any sort on the part of foreign peoples whosoever they may be."

Commenting on that declaration, in his article on "The Attitude of Europe Toward The Monroe Doctrine," Mr. Low said: "Here is a platitude wrapped up in high sounding words, as most platitudes are, stating a truism with all the solemnity of a vital discovery, and enunciating a declaration impossible of acceptance."

Yes, this is a platitude in "high sounding words," but it is a platitude which the American people have made a part of their fundamental doctrine. It has been and will continue to be accepted by "foreign peoples whosoever they may be"; but if there should be any who do not accept it they will be treated as enemies of democracy. The Declaration of Independence contained "platitudes wrapped up in high sounding words"; a Germanic King of England considered the declaration as platitudes "impossible of acceptance." Germanic doctrines are to-day opposed to all the "self-evident truths" promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and Germanic methods are opposed to the platitudes of the Pan-American Congress. Here is the fundamental issue between America and Germany; the difference between democracy and autocracy, which cannot be reconciled.

The Monroe Doctrine was promulgated not only for our own protection, but more directly

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for the protection and preservation of the new South American states. Our liberal treatment of Spain in the Treaty of Paris; our conduct towards Cuba; our liberal treatment of China in the matter of the Boxer troubles, and our policy with Mexico are evidences of our national conscience.

CHAPTER V

INTERMEDDLING WITH MEXICAN AFFAIRS

OUR relations with Mexico have been the cause of grave apprehension during the present administration. Our negative policy of "watchful waiting" has been a matter of much concern to the Powers whose subjects and citizens had large investments in that country; but we have been given a free hand by every country except Germany. England and France especially have been very patient and considerate. As usual in our foreign relations, Germany was the meddlesome country, the bumptious nation to show its disregard for American policies and American feeling. General Huerta received material aid by the delivery of a cargo of arms at Puerto Mexico by the German steamer *Ypiranga*.

In connection with the matter of the shipment of arms to Huerta, the country was informed that "the administration was forced to act without the formal authorization of Congress by the arrival in Mexican waters of the Hamburg-American liner *Ypiranga*, for Vera Cruz out of Hamburg with a cargo of 10,000 rifles, several machine guns and 15,000,000 rounds of ammunition con-

signed to the Mexican Government. To prevent these munitions from reaching General Huerta, in a state short of actual war, only one course was open which avoided the possibility of international complications through the detention of a vessel of a friendly Power."¹

Notwithstanding we had our fleet at Mexican ports and landed an army at Vera Cruz to prevent the delivery of arms to General Huerta, the arms were delivered. "It seemed unthinkable that we could have seized Vera Cruz and killed scores or hundreds of people to prevent the landing of a particular cargo of arms, and then, a little later, have permitted that very cargo to be landed and sent to Huerta under our very auspices."²

"The European Governments accredited in Mexico have no political interests in that country, but they have large commercial ones and large colonies. France has \$900,000,000 invested in banking and manufacturing enterprises. Great Britain has close upon a billion of dollars invested in mines, banks, railways and plantations. Germany and Spain have each over \$500,000,000 invested in that country at large."³

Another high authority makes the following statement regarding investments of foreign capital in Mexico :

¹ "The American Year Book, 1914," D. Appleton & Co.

² "Review of Reviews," August, 1914.

³ Ex-Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson. — "Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science."

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American	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,057,775,000
English	-	-	-	-	-	321,302,800
French	-	-	-	-	-	143,446,000
Other foreign nations	-	-	-	-	-	118,535,380 ¹

"The New International Year Book," 1914, contains the following statement: "When it is borne in mind that most of the railway capital, most of the mining property, most of the oil business in Mexico, was owned in the United States; when it is remembered that the American investments in Mexico amounted to over a billion dollars, English investments to over \$300,000,000, and French investments to \$143,000,000; when it is realized that the average annual export of minerals from Mexico was about \$90,000,000—the importance may be appreciated of the foreign financial interests at stake."

There is a wide margin in the several estimates of foreign capital in Mexico, but all agree that Germany has less than any other country, at least the amount of Germany's investment is pretty near the bottom of the list, less than any other country of financial importance. So far as any legitimate interest she had in the affairs of Mexico was concerned, Germany had less occasion for complaint or interference than any other country. However, Germany usually turns up where there

¹ Prof. S. L. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania. The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

is trouble and tries to make more. It is her meddlesome, bumptious way, a part of her foreign policy, illustrating the homely saw that, "the weakest wheel in the cart makes the most noise."

In his farewell address Huerta asserted that in his own downfall he had succeeded in dealing "death blows to an unjust Power" that "has done so much harm and committed so many outrages on this continent." When General Huerta arrived at Puerto Mexico, Captain Kohler of the German cruiser *Dresden* called on him and offered him his ship "for any use he cared to make of it." Huerta left Puerto Mexico, July 20, on the German cruiser. Five months later, Captain Kohler and four other German cruisers were engaged by the British squadron off the Falkland Islands, but the *Dresden* and *Nurnberg* showed their heels to the British squadron and tried to escape. The *Nurnberg* was overhauled and sunk; the *Dresden* was a later and faster ship and made her escape. But she was finally cornered and sunk by British cruisers, about the middle of March, off the Chilean coast, near Fernandez Islands, Robinson Crusoe's home.

The presence of the German cruiser at a Mexican port at the time of Huerta's resignation, the very liberal offer of Captain Kohler to the Mexican general whom this country had refused to recognize as the executive head of the Mexican Government, and the fact that Huerta left Mexico under

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the circumstances and at the time he did, are interesting coincidents. General Huerta resigned his office July 15 and arrived at Puerto Mexico two days later ; he left on the German cruiser July 20 and on the following day the German Foreign Minister stated to the British Ambassador at Berlin that there should be no outside interference in the quarrel between Austria and Serbia ; two days later, July 23, Austria delivered her ultimatum to Serbia. There may be no connection between affairs in Mexico and the war in Europe but the cargo of munitions consigned to Huerta in the Hamburg-American liner, the resignation of Huerta, the action of the captain of the German cruiser, and the use which Huerta made of the German cruiser, make important connecting links in an unwritten story.

At the time of this writing General Huerta is in the United States, and, according to newspaper reports, he has acquired property and established his residence on Long Island, New York. Whether General Huerta had as much to do with his coming to the United States as she had to do with his leaving Mexico is a mere matter of conjecture. It was observed, however, that no German cruiser was available, " for any use he wished to make of it," when he came to America.

While travelling in Texas near the Mexican border, General Huerta was arrested under a charge of conspiracy to violate the neutrality

of the United States by inciting a new Mexican revolution.

"The arrest of Huerta and the threat to prosecute his alleged financial backers is another indication of the present attitude of the administration towards the former President of Mexico. On the assumption that Huerta was a disturbing element in Mexico he was forced out of the country, and it was given out at the State Department that the Carranza-Villa faction would shortly restore peace. Later, when there was a break between Carranza and Villa, the latter received the support of the administration and was heralded as a second Washington. . . .

"Whatever action we may take with reference to Mexico should be based upon the recognition of facts, and not upon beautiful theories. The facts were well understood at the beginning by a large class of our citizens who had learned, by close observation and experience, the actual conditions in Mexico. It would have been wise if official action could have been determined by the advice of such men, but according to the information we received, they were not even accorded a courteous hearing at the State Department under Mr. Bryan."¹

The New York Evening Post of July 22 printed a telegram from Galveston from which the following is taken :

"Support from President Manuel Estrada Cabrera, of Guatemala, for the plans of General Victoriano Huerta and associates for re-establishing control of affairs in Mexico was pledged as early as last February, according to *La Voz de la Revolución*, a newspaper of Merida, Mexico, copies of which were received here to-day. This publication prints what purports to be letters from President Cabrera to General Huerta."

These letters to General Huerta pledge the support of President Cabrera and outline plans of assistance. In a letter

¹ *Army and Navy Journal*.

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addressed to Jorge Vera Estanol at Los Angeles, "after outlining offers of assistance," says :

"Permit me to suggest that a number of German officers be named as instructors, as I have them here, and which, in my case, were very effective in establishing a nucleus of an army."

German drill-sergeants, spies and pacifists are tireless and ubiquitous ; the evidence of their work in Mexico will be uncovered in due time and the futility of our policy of watchful waiting will also come out in due time. Writing about experiences in Mexico, in *The New York Times Magazine*, of July 18, 1915, Ruby M. Stone makes this significant statement :

"My chief difficulty was in getting a passport from our American Consul in Juarez. However, with a certificate of vaccination and a personal letter from the German Consul, Hippoleto Villa, General Villa's brother, issued a passport to me."

The German Consul had more influence than the American Consul, but this interesting writer makes another statement which we may consider as explanatory of the first :

"Americans who have interests in Mexico think the United States blundered when she put troops at Vera Cruz, and that she also blundered when she withdrew them. The Mexicans as a race hate America."

The feeling in Mexico was well illustrated by a story of three Americans who were captured by Mexican raiders in Texas. Two were shot by the Mexicans, but one was permitted to escape.

The explanation was that the two who were shot were known to be Americans, and the one who was allowed to escape was supposed to be a German. Mexicans have been told that Germany is a great military Power, and that it protects its flag and its subjects; and they have also been told that the United States is a weak military Power, and that it protects neither its flag nor its citizens. The experience and observation of the Mexicans during three years past give credence to these reports.

One is not surprised to hear that the Mexicans as a race hate America. This is the report of every American who has observed conditions in Mexico, and had the courage to express his honest opinion, since our system of espionage and "watchful waiting" was established. Our policy during the present administration has intensified this hatred. While refusing to recognize any Government in Mexico, we have maintained a system of espionage over that country, sending untrained and inexperienced representatives to act the part of confidential spies for the President of the United States. We took possession of their principal seaport and killed a number of their citizens, and we evacuated that city without accomplishing anything in the way of settling Mexico's troubles, or anything to our credit, except the splendid record of our soldiers as shown by their courage and conduct, and the efficiency and highly

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honourable demeanour of the officers of our army and navy. We have published executive messages criticizing the Mexican Government in a very rude manner, and in language we would never use in speaking of any sovereign State able to protect itself. While maintaining a system of espionage over Mexico and engaging in a lot of paternal counsel about constitutional government—in the meantime threatening her with the mailed fist—we have been coddling Germany, and permitting her to maintain a system of espionage over us more threatening and offensive than we have carried on in Mexico.

Admonitions regarding constitutional government addressed to Mexican brigands have been about as effective as our essays on ethics and humanity addressed to the assassins who direct the policies of the German Government. Anyone who knows anything about Mexico is aware that hardly 20 per cent. of her population is fitted for self-government; anyone who knows anything about the Germans is aware that practically her whole adult population is well fitted for self-government, so far as education can fit them. All students of Mexican history know that that country established a democratic constitution, and made many sacrifices for the cause of liberty before the Germans undertook to establish a constitutional federation or made any sacrifices for democracy and personal liberty.

While extreme poverty and illiteracy are serious obstacles to a stable democracy in Mexico, it is also true that education and wealth have not secured individual liberty and democratic government in Germany. The lawless practices of the Mexicans have been wicked and cruel; the atrocious barbarities of the Germans have been appalling. The crimes of Mexico have been committed in the name of Liberty, precisely as by the French revolutionists at the close of the eighteenth century; the crimes of Germany have been committed in the interest of an autocratic power, and for world domination, precisely as the policies of Louis XIV. were upheld. Mexico is passing through the crisis that England passed through in the middle of the seventeenth century, and which France experienced toward the close of the eighteenth century. When Germany produces a Cromwell, Mirabeau or Juarez, she will enter upon the same revolutionary epoch.

There are few names in German history whose deeds excelled the brilliant episodes of Guatemotzim; Juarez was a more useful and honourable man than Frederick the Great. Within a period of thirty days after the beginning of the present war in Europe, Germany arrested and imprisoned more American citizens than Mexico arrested during the whole period of Huerta's administration; within ten months after the beginning of the present war, Germany murdered more

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American citizens than were murdered in Mexico during Huerta's domination. Americans who were arrested in Germany were travelling in that country in time of peace without the slightest apprehension as to the possible outbreak of war ; and those who were apprehended were using all possible diligence, and sparing no expense, in trying to get out of German territory. The most shocking details of German outrages against American citizens have not been published ; they cannot be published because they relate to unspeakable crimes against American women who were travelling in Germany. Respectable American women, some of high social position, while travelling in Germany, were assaulted by German soldiers ; and this shocking story had reached America and was known to many citizens, if not to Government officials, several months before the President sent his telegram of congratulations to the Kaiser on the occasion of his birthday.

The crimes in Mexico have been horrible, simply unspeakable, but they have not been so shocking and revolting as the crimes committed by Germany against American citizens. The President made a personal war on Huerta, and criticized him severely ; there has been no war on the Kaiser by the President, and the Kaiser's criminal and seditious representatives have been treated with marked consideration. If it be claimed in defence of Germany, as it has been

asserted by pro-German advocates in America, that American citizens were killed by Germany because, at their own risk, they went into a war zone prescribed by Germany, it may be shown by way of comparison that Americans killed by Mexicans were killed in Mexico while that country was in a state of war. Moreover, Americans killed by Germans were in merchant vessels on the high seas where they had a right to be; American citizens were warned by this country to leave Mexico and stay away pending the cessation of hostilities and establishment of a stable government. We have wheedled and cajoled Germany, while insulting and threatening Mexico. We apprehended General Huerta, and held him in custody for less offence than Count Bernstorff and members of the German Embassy have been guilty of. And there are thousands of Germans in this country who have been guilty of conspiracies against America more flagrant than any charged against Huerta. Accredited diplomatic representatives are immune from arrest, but we could have handed these obtrusive diplomats their passports, and we should have apprehended Germans in this country who have been engaged in conspiracies, and are not protected by diplomatic positions.

A leading American newspaper asserts that it is in possession of wireless messages which prove the interest and activity of the German Embassy

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in Mexican affairs. "When Huerta was living at the Hotel Ansonia in New York, he was in conference many times with Captain Boy-Ed and other representatives of the German Ambassador, not only in his apartment at the Hotel Ansonia, but at the Hotel Manhattan, where, with several of his adherents, he repeatedly met and conferred with German Secret Service Agents, and Captain Boy-Ed."¹

If General Huerta was guilty of a conspiracy or any other infraction of law in this country, he has co-conspirators in America who should have been apprehended. According to what appears to be very trustworthy reports, President Wilson was advised of the conspiracy with which Captain Boy-Ed was reported to have more or less connection.

During several years past Germany has been trying to give us trouble in Mexico. The cargo of munitions shipped in a Hamburg-American liner and unloaded at a Mexican port, the presence of a German cruiser to receive General Huerta, and other circumstances to which reference has been made in this chapter, are evidence of Germany's pernicious interference in Mexican affairs. Germany's connection with the conspiracy to involve this country in trouble with Mexico, and at the same time delaying an adjustment of our

¹ *Providence Journal.*

demands on account of her destruction of the lives and property of American citizens, has been exposed as a part of the general plan of German espionage and intrigue against this country.

We have patiently submitted to these things, and the Mexican has been told that we are afraid of Germany. The Mexican knows that we have maintained a system of espionage in his country, that we have threatened him and killed his people under a pretext precisely in accord with German practices in this country. The Mexican hates the American because the American has imposed on him, and he has a contempt for the American because the American has submitted to the insults and indignities of Germany. The only reason the Mexican submitted to our indignities was because he was too weak to defend himself. We submitted to Germany's indignities so long because we were afraid of the German-American vote, and "too proud to fight." We have not been too proud to submit to German insults. During the first year of this War of Nations we have made a place in the world's history which will not be very much to our credit.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY'S PREPARATION FOR WAR—WARNINGS IN AMERICA

IN a speech before the Toronto University Alumni Association, at Chicago, November 27, 1914, Dr. J. A. McDonald, editor of *The Toronto Globe*, said: "I have it from indisputable authority that in May, 1913, General Bernhardt secretly visited the United States and divulged plans of the proposed European war. He visited New York, Chicago, and cities west of the Mississippi, and then went to the Pacific coast. On May 26, 1913, he held a secret meeting of some 300 Germans in San Francisco called by the German Consul. The real intent, the German General said, would be to enter France through Belgium. The General outlined the exact number of days it would take to get to Paris, the cost and the number of men necessary to get there, and said that when Paris had capitulated a levy would be made for its redemption."

The statement made by Dr. McDonald is well confirmed by a later statement found in an article by Professor David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Leland Stanford Junior University, and published

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in the *New York Times Magazine* during the month of February, 1915 :

" A recent phase of Alldeutschthun has been to prepare expatriated Germans for the coming war against England and to secure their sympathy against surprises when the war, scheduled as probable in the year 1914, should actually come to pass. The presence of Bernhardi in America in 1913 was apparently part of this propaganda.

" On May 26, 1913, the present writer received an official invitation from the German Consul at San Francisco to be present at a lecture to Germans by General von Bernhardi. Shortly before this the first edition of the now famous ' Deutschland und der nächste Krieg ' had come to hand.

" The lecturer appeared as a tall, spare Prussian, reserved and courteous in manner, precise and dignified, but distinctly prosy as a speaker. The content of the lecture seemed to hark back to the Middle Ages, and this seemed to be the impression made on the attentive but apparently unsympathetic audience of German-Americans. There was no effort at publicity, and but two of the invited guests were not Germans. General Bernhardi asserted the general principle that force to act, will to do, is above all law. ' Law is only a makeshift,' the only reality is power. ' Law is for weaklings, power is the only reality with nations as with men.' . . . ' To assert herself, Germany, already grown too peaceful, must be stirred up to hack her way to the open sea to win a colonial empire, and all this by the sword, thus gaining the place in the sun her idealism deserves.' . . . I understand that the same written lecture was read in Los Angeles and in St. Louis. Practically, the address was of the nature of a warning to Germans in foreign countries that the truce with Great Britain was about to end, and that no ' paper bulwark ' would stand in the way in the final struggle. We were allowed or led to infer that Germany's real enemy was England, and the road to England lay through Belgium and France."

During the month of March, 1915, there were

published in *The Chicago Examiner* and *Chicago Tribune* two articles written and copyrighted " by Friedrich von Bernhardi." Each of these articles was prefaced by headlines prominently displayed on the front page, and the two articles occupied more than two pages. General Bernhardi's introduction to his articles is in these words :

" From many letters which have come to me from the United States and from American newspapers, I observe that my books ' Germany and the Next War ' and ' Our Future ' are being used in the United States by the press for the purpose of stirring up public opinion against Germany as the Power really responsible for the world war. It is alleged that I had, in a frivolous manner, argued for war ; that I had pictured war, and especially war of conquest, as a necessary, and indeed, the most reliable instrument of statesmanship ; that I had preached a war against England ; had proclaimed that the destruction of the British world-empire was a world necessity, and that I had put forward as the essential aim of German statesmanship the erection of a German world-domination."

According to the statements made by Dr. McDonald, editor of *The Toronto Globe*, and Professor David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Leland Stanford Junior University, General Bernhardi was guilty of the charges made against him by the American Press and his American correspondents from whom he had received such letters. Moreover, the English and American editions of his books fully verify the charges against him. Nor does General Bernhardi undertake to answer these charges. His laboured

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articles in the pro-German American papers are in line with the writings of German propagandists in America who resort to evasions and subterfuges when their teachings and practices are attacked. Bernhardi, Münsterberg, and Dernburg all tell the same story when they write for the American Press. But Bernhardi reached the climax of German subterfuge when, in one of the articles published in *The Chicago Examiner*, he said that the German idea in brief words could hardly be better described than in the words of Longfellow ; and he quotes the familiar lines from Longfellow's " Psalm of Life." General Bernhardi is a worthy type of the cunning old Landgrave of Hesse, a shrewd propagandist to be associated with the artful old German professors who have been deluging this country with their literature.

The weight of evidence goes to show that it was the real Bernhardi who lectured in this country in 1913; reference to these lectures being found in statements quoted from Dr. McDonald and Professor David Starr Jordan. In order to establish the credibility of General Bernhardi, author of " Germany and the Next War," let us again turn to an illuminating and suggestive paragraph in that interesting book. On page 78 of that volume we find the following :

" The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our

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direct interests, we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany, but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American-Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and thus united, constitute a power in the State, with which the Government must reckon."

General Bernhardt's dual nature and Germanic policies are well expressed in these familiar lines :

"The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be ;
The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he."

"In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* for January, 1915, a writer who signs himself 'Fabricus,' from internal evidence 'a man of mark in his day,' gives several pages of extracts from a book by Emil Witte, at one time attaché to the German Embassy in Washington. Herr Witte's sensational book was published in Leipzig in 1907, and it throws light upon German-American relations and German official purposes. Herr Witte declares that, after the difficulty in Manila between Germany and the United States, the German Government encouraged the formation of German veteran societies throughout the United States which, by close interconnection, could become an organization of great power. He says that on October 6, 1901, Germanism in the United States was organized in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.

"It were better to use Herr Witte's own words in order to convey exactly what the meaning and purpose of the organization of Germanism in the United States was :

"On that date the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika" was founded. According to its constitution, it endeavours to awaken among the American population of German descent a feeling of unity, to organize it for the purpose of energetically protecting the common interests of Germanism, etc.

"It should be of interest to consider the activity of the

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German Bund. It agitated energetically with the object of inducing the Government of the United States to intervene in the war between England and the Boers. In support of this agitation it handed to Congress a petition which weighed more than four hundred pounds, and which was more than five miles long.

"An organization, similar in character and scope to that representing all German-Americans, is the 'Centralverband deutscher Veteranen und Kriegerbunde Nord-Amerikas'—the Central Society of German Veterans and Soldier Societies of North America. The principles and aims of that society are similar to that of the parent society. . . .

"Without doubting for a moment the often-asserted loyalty to the United States expressed by the members of the German Soldiers' Societies in the United States, and without dwelling on the reasons why they have been officially distinguished by the German Government by sending them flags, decorations, gracious letters, etc., it must be frankly stated that *the relations between official Germany and the emigrant subjects of the Emperor, whether they have become citizens of the Republic or not, may lead to serious complications between Germany and the United States, and to unforeseen incidents which at any moment may involve both Powers in serious difficulty. . . .*

"This is a very remarkable statement, but it comes from a former official of the German Government, and it is supported by events which have happened since the beginning of the war. It should also be read in connection with the fact that in 1913 Germany passed a law preserving for a German his nationality even when he has become naturalized in another country. That was a very careful piece of legislation which had more than native German sentiment behind it."¹

Evidence of thorough preparation in America, on the part of Germany, for the present war became manifest immediately upon the outbreak

¹ "The World in the Crucible," Sir Gilbert Parker.

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of war. German societies were active and German propagandists were in the field the first week of the war. They came forth fully equipped, evidencing thorough organization and preparation. Instantly, as if by magic, the whole country was flooded with pro-German literature, leaflets, pamphlets, books, speeches, addresses, newspaper and magazine articles. The American people were told what they should do and what they should not do. The American people were fawned upon, lied to, importuned, threatened and bullied. Meantime, the administration at Washington was not idle, but its energies were not directed to the momentous questions which affected civilization and threatened the life of this country. It was stampeded by the immense vote suddenly thrown on the market by the German agitators and some of their Irish co-conspirators. Had the administration shown as much zeal in suppressing the seditious Americans as it has shown in selecting rulers for Mexico, it would have been more to its credit. Had the obligations of The Hague Convention received as much attention as has been given to the insolent demands of the Germans, it would have elevated America among the nations of the world.

The pro-German outbreaks coming with such violence and showing such perfect organization and preparedness fully verified the assertions of General Bernhardt, on the occasion of his visit

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to America in 1913, to which reference has been made in this chapter. At many public meetings held by these seditious Americans "the name of the Kaiser was cheered to the echo, but they did not cheer the Stars and Stripes or anything American." There was wild applause when the speakers declared that "a union of the 20,000,000 German-Americans and 13,000,000 Irish-Americans in the United States would make it easy to change the attitude of the newspapers and the Federal Government toward Germany and the German cause."

"Thus, once in Cleveland, when Prince Henry was introduced to a German who, twenty years previously, had been a sailor on the same ship, and the man began to speak English, the Prince said sharply: 'Come, speak German; I know you can.' And on another occasion, at St. Louis, Prince Henry asked an old German veteran whether he thought sometimes of the Fatherland; whether he brought up his children in German ways, and sent them to a German school; whether he remembered his (the Prince's) father (the Emperor Frederick); whether he had married a German lady; and expressed a hope that he still loved the old country. 'Would to God,' wrote the *Alldeutsche Blätter*, in reporting this incident, 'that Prince Henry could so stir the conscience of every German American!—that would indeed be an unprecedented German missionary work.'"¹

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine."

CHAPTER VII

COMMERCIAL WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

GERMANY has no higher standard in her commercial code than she has in her political code. Her code of ethics is such that she can make it very resilient. In her monopoly of the potash trade she has been very unfair and arbitrary. The controversy known as the "potash war" reached an acute crisis when American investors in German mines appealed to our State Department for intervention in their behalf. Germany protected her potash monopoly and made war on American investors who were trying to reduce the cost of potash; her policy was reversed in her own interest when she made war on the petroleum trust of America and tried to shut out American oil from the German markets.

Americans may not appreciate the peculiar German Kultur we hear so much about, but they understand the moral obloquy attached to the ruthless breach of a nation's treaty obligations; they know how to class such crimes as larceny, murder, arson and rape. They know where to place a nation that, while professing the warmest friendship, has thrice struck at this country

"unawares" and each time has tried to strike its "deadliest." And there are other things of less moment than life and honour but of great concern in our trade relations. These things in our trade relations with Germany have been briefly but very clearly and forcibly stated by Mr. C. W. Barron in the *Wall Street Journal* :

"But what do we think when we find that Germany has for years run a boycott against every American enterprise ?

"America's great International Harvester Company, which has made and promoted the great agricultural inventions of the world ; the Singer Sewing Machine Company, that spreads its manufactures over the earth, and brings back the returns to the United States ; all American motor-car companies ; all American tobacco interests ; and, in fact, all foreign companies are boycotted, or barred, or worked against throughout Germany. Placards in shop windows say : ' Don't buy foreign goods. Keep the money in Germany.' "

At the beginning of the present war, the United States ranked as the third financial power in the world, and at the close of the war her financial position will be greatly strengthened.

"One of New York's most prominent bankers gives expression to the following views : ' Should there be a declaration of war by Germany, its chief effect would be to unite Americans of all shades of opinion, give a solidarity that we have long lacked, assure the success of measures for national defence, and give a new impulse to business. In the past eight months we have paid off \$400,000,000 of indebtedness, bought \$224,000,000 of foreign obligations, and taken back from Europe hundreds of millions of American securities formerly held abroad. Our present financial position is unassailable,

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and this country could complacently contemplate any expenditure which might be involved by a rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany.

"I do not conceal the fact that German hatred of the United States is only a little less intense than that of Great Britain. . . . Regarding the feeling towards this country in Germany, I am speaking from knowledge; but I do not think that, much as Germans might like to make war on us, they will be rash enough to do it."¹

As a business proposition, looking only to our commercial interests, aside from any humane consideration, we have little to gain and much to lose by cultivating friendly relations with Germany. We are under no business obligations to Germany. With her subsidies and discriminating tariffs she has made war on American business interests unfairly and with a very narrow governmental policy. The world's available capital for investment will continue to be controlled in New York, London and Paris. Germany has shown her disposition to make commercial war on England, France and America. It is not to our interest to do anything that will supply Germany with financial backing with which to make war on our industries and commerce. And we owe something to humanity and civilization. From the beginning of atrocities in Belgium to the sinking of the *Lusitania* the record of crime has grown in length and enormity. We know who

¹ *Wall Street Journal*, May 5, 1915.

the assassins and pirates are and we are familiar with the details of their wrong-doings. We should detest the crimes and avoid all friendly relations with the criminals.

Germany is a debtor nation. Her financial affairs were in a most precarious condition at the beginning of this disastrous war, and the situation will be chaotic at the end of it. After the failure of her colonial enterprises in other parts of the world, Germany turned her attention to Morocco. She sent her warship *Panther* to the port of Agadir for the purpose of interfering with France, and for that fiasco Germany paid dearly. Germany was looking for trouble and she found it at home, when the "Government attempted to procure in Berlin the ready money to finance the mobilization of the army."

"There then became evident the fact which probably astonished the Germans as much as it did every one else in the world outside of the few men in London and Paris who were responsible for it. It seems that German business was being transacted upon capital borrowed abroad, and that the German merchants had so extended their borrowing operations that more than 90 per cent. of the current business transactions depended upon call loans or time loans secured in London and Paris. The moment the international situation became tense, a concerted movement was undertaken by the few men who controlled financial movements in those capitals for the recall of these loans. The result was as astonishing and as disastrous as it was intended to be. The ready cash in Germany was promptly moved out of the country, and many merchants found themselves compelled to sell securities to

meet their pressing obligations. Not only, therefore, was the German nation for the moment seriously strained for gold, but the sale of securities was so considerable as to assume the proportions of a financial panic. The banks in Germany were on the verge of being compelled to suspend specie payments and were many of them almost bankrupt. There was no money to be had in Germany with which to begin the war. The Government, with unheard-of effrontery, appealed for loans to the great French and English banking houses, depending obviously upon the bankers' greed being stronger than their patriotism. The financial kings promptly informed the Emperor that they would be only too glad to furnish him with such sums as he might require in exchange for proper securities and an engagement in his own handwriting not to use the loan for military purposes. The latter condition being obviously out of the question, the Emperor appealed to the American financiers and received from them a reply substantially the same. Thus unexpectedly was revealed the real financial strength of England and France and the value of the alliance with the United States. Germany had been defeated, for her enemies had it in their power to prevent her even from taking the field. Surely no defeat could have been more crushing or more humiliating."¹

In a word, Germany dreaded America, and this feeling has on more than one occasion been given expression to by the German Emperor. What Germany thought about America was indicated at President Faure's funeral in 1899, when the German Ambassador, Prince Radziwill, said :

"There is another country (besides England) against which the Continental Powers should come to an understanding for the purpose of organizing their economic defence.

¹ "Pan-Germanism," Roland G. Usher.

This is the United States, whose pretensions and riches are becoming a danger for us all."

"Despite the gratifying results of Prince Henry's visit," said Dr. Höttsch (*Alldeutsche Blätter*, August 23, 1902), "Germany's great enemy in the twentieth century will be America." Oddly enough, on the authority of the Socialist economist, Calwer, America would be the loser in a tariff war with Germany; but Dr. Höttsch is less confident. He thinks nothing can avail except a great European economic campaign against the Union. Germany has also to take the lead in South America against American "Jingoism," and establish herself firmly in East Asia, or the great duel between Germany and the Anglo-Saxon races will end in favour of the latter, and Germany "will, politically, sink to the level of Holland."¹

"The results of the war (between the United States and Spain) were all that could have been hoped for. The Triple Entente saw the Gulf of Mexico fall into friendly hands and the establishment in the Far East of a friendly Power in the strategic point of greatest consequence. From Germany's point of view, the results of the alliance between England, France, and the United States were exceedingly discouraging, and the aftermath of the war proved even more decisive than the war itself. The United States promptly undertook the peaceful penetration of Mexico and Central America. Large loans were made to the Governments and secured by a lien on the revenues; American capital rushed thither, and the number of enterprises financed or owned by Americans increased so rapidly that at the present day the United States,

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine."

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or its citizens, owns practically everything of importance in the Gulf, and is waiting only for a favourable opportunity to foreclose its mortgage. The possibility of German interference has been reduced to nothing. The United States also proceeded, not improbably by agreement, to create a fleet large enough to maintain control of the Gulf of Mexico and, what was of more consequence, to maintain control of the Atlantic highway between Europe and America in case of European war."¹

One more thing the United States undertook, which England and France had hitherto denied her permission to do, the digging of the Panama Canal. The canal would furnish the United States with a new waterway to the East, shorter than the route she had hitherto been forced to employ *via* Suez, and with a route which would literally put New York in actual number of miles nearer China, Australia, and New Zealand than was London. Thus to admit the United States to the trade of the Far East by a waterway exclusively in its control, England had not hitherto considered expedient. The creation of Pan-Germanism, the fear of an attack on the English route through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, the possibility of the closing of that route temporarily or permanently by some naval disaster, reconciled England to the creation of the Panama Canal, because she saw in that waterway a new military road which she could use to her own possessions in the Far East, and which the Atlantic Ocean

¹ "Pan-Germanism."

would effectually keep out of the hands of Germany.¹

"The moral code of the financial world, like the moral code of the political world, is based upon the notions of England and France, upon ideas obviously themselves the result of a peculiar situation, on whose continuance the welfare of England and France depends. Their moral code is based on their ownership of the world and their desire to continue it in perpetuity, and their moral code, therefore, condemns Germany to insignificance. The Germans refuse to recognize as moral anything which jeopardizes their national existence. They claim the right to protect themselves by any weapons which will secure the desired result, and they have no intention of forgoing the use of these terrible economic weapons, simply from a supine acceptance of so-called ethical notions, whose very presumptions militate against them. The international economic situation chances to press less heavily upon Germany than upon other states, and thus affords her a significant natural advantage over other states which it would be suicidal to forgo. If worst comes to worst and all else fails, she can resort to weapons so powerful as to destroy her adversaries."¹

Germany is in better position for the repudiation of what she owes than any other country engaged in this disastrous war. Germany cares very little about the injury she may do ; she is engaged in a life and death struggle for world domination. Anything she may be able to do that will weaken or destroy her enemies she will not hesitate to do ; she has no moral code which will interfere with any devilish designs she may have on her enemies.

¹ "Pan-Germanism."

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"The World in the Crucible" is the title of a late book by Sir Gilbert Parker; and from this remarkable volume is the following illuminating statement:

"German ambitions for colonial Empire, however, and her anger at any check to her purposes have been an open book to all who, from their positions official, semi-official, or political, have been brought *vis à vis* of German interests now adventuring here, now there, in the quest for oversea territory. In 1893 the present writer was told by Señor Marsical, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico, that German designs in South America would become a grave international matter, and that the United States would be forced to emphasize the reality of the Monroe Doctrine before many years passed. As events proved, Señor Marsical was right. In the year 1901, at Aiken, in South Carolina, the late W. C. Whitney, former Secretary of the Navy in the Cleveland Administration, said to the author of this book:

"You think that Germany has designs on the British position, that she wants and will strike for Great Britain's colonies as soon as she has a navy? Do not *fash* yourselves, as the Scotch say. We will be taking Germany on before that time comes. Little as we shall like it, we will have to do your work for you. She isn't cured yet of her designs on South America. She will try it on and try it on, and she will try it on once too often. She wants to challenge the Monroe Doctrine, and she will do it if she thinks she can do it safely, if she thinks the United States will not fight. You saw what happened at Manila. There the British played up in style. Dewey had more than moral support from you there. Well, I tell you that when I was Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland, I saw that Germany meant to grab Brazil and Bolivia and Venezuela, and any other portion of South America which was too weak to resist her—if we let her. I made up my mind that my country would not let her slice off one little chunk from the Monroe Doctrine. You did not notice any

decline of the American Navy under my administration, did you? No. Well, Germany made me work harder than I ever did in my life. Don't worry. We will have to do your work for you.'

"Similar views have been held and stated by other Americans, and the present war has spread the conviction that the United States cannot contemplate with a sense of security the possible, if not probable, rise of a victorious and world-dominating Germany. . . .

"It should be interesting, and perhaps it will be surprising, to some Americans to learn from the mouths of Germans, not so adroit and careful as Professor Munsterburg, for instance, opinions which throw light on this far from academic subject.

"*'Weltmacht oder Niedergang! (World-power or Down-fall!)* will be our rallying cry,' cries General Bernhardt stridently in his book *'Germany and the Next War.'* It is an old, old cry, of which we thought the world would hear no more; or, if it came, then from some Oriental Empire born again and moving ruthlessly upon the Occident. This dream of world-dominion has come to other States and Empires; sometimes for momentary good and sometimes for ill, but always with misery and destruction in its wake. Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Spain, and France—and now Germany. Each time it has come all the nations of the world have had to brace themselves for the shock. Some went under, and some survived; but none emerged unscathed. In modern times, nations determined to preserve their independence and freedom from one man's tyranny have united to break the power that threatened to enslave the earth. So it was that Charles V., Philip II., Louis XIV., and Napoleon, each in his bloody way, was checked on his course of conquest by a Europe determined to be free. The plans and hopes of Imperial Germany to-day affect the future of every nation everywhere. The world is in the melting-pot again, old foundations shake, new structures are in the making."

It has not yet dawned upon Americans how

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permanently and deeply they will be affected by the results of the present war of nations. When they awake to a full realization of the vital issues involved in the present struggle, they will more keenly appreciate the great sacrifices the Allies have made for the cause of civilization, and how heroically they have preserved the institutions which are the principles of American government. Moreover, the great economic changes which will follow this war are quite as important to America as to either of the belligerents.

Trade expansion is a vital issue in American economics, and this question will be affected more by the results of the war than by American legislation or enterprise. An American merchant marine, protected by an American navy, or conjointly by treaty arrangements with a friendly Power, is essential to American trade expansion. The protection of our commerce on the high seas is quite as important as American enterprise. With all the banking capital we may need, added to the thrift and enterprise of our manufacturers and merchants, we shall not be able to extend our foreign trade, nor to protect that we already have, without suitable arrangements for the protection of our commerce.

We know from experience what to expect if Germany should win in this war. We know she has never accepted our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and that her interference with

American affairs has been directed not only at our political institutions but quite as much at our commerce. Germany's efforts at colonization in South America, her unfriendly attitude during the Spanish-American war, her interference with Mexican affairs against the declared politics of the United States, and her espionage in this country, have very clearly shown she will recognize no American rights which we are unable to defend with the sword. A victory for Germany in the present war would result in our losing control of the Panama Canal or being forced into a life and death struggle not only for our control of the Canal but also for our very existence as a sovereign State.

CHAPTER VIII

GERMAN SPY SYSTEM AND VANDALISM

HAVING considered German policies and practices, so far as they have affected, or may affect, the domestic affairs or foreign relations of the United States, down to a period immediately preceding the outbreak of the present war, reference to the German spy system will furnish information that will fully justify the gravest apprehension regarding German espionage in America. The spy system as practised in Europe has been introduced into America, and it is so well organized that it has become a conspiracy against democratic institutions, a menace to our liberties and the stability of our Government.

“A feature of the present war in Europe has been the extraordinary perfection of the German spy system and the odium with which it has covered its authors and directors. . . . When one looks into it, the real charge against the Germans is that they have wielded with incomparable efficiency a weapon that their opponents have handled only half-heartedly. . . . Espionage, whether a necessary evil or not, has always been an evil; but the Germans have elaborated it into a malignant disease. . . . Yet they have done little or nothing in this war that they did not do in the war of 1870. If we are amazed to-day, it is only because we have forgotten. From the days of Frederick the Great, who went to war ‘with one

cook and a hundred spies,' espionage has always been considered in Prussia, not only a military necessity but a reputable profession. . . . The secret police service, organized to watch over the Poles, the Socialists, and the revolutionaries of 1848, was systematically extended to foreign countries.

"A genius in espionage—the king of sleuth-hounds, as Bismarck called him—was discovered in the person of Stieber. . . . Between 1866 and 1870 he sowed in the fourteen French Departments that would be traversed by the German troops a residential army of not less than 30,000 spies. When the Prussians got to Versailles, 9,000 of Stieber's men were on duty in the streets; and it was to their official head-quarters, where Stieber was then in residence, that the unsuspecting Jules Favre was driven when negotiating the surrender of Paris. Stieber himself waited on the French minister in the guise of a valet, brought him his cup of coffee every morning, and systematically went through his pockets, trunks and papers.

"All this and much else is a matter of history, recorded in half a dozen enlightening memoirs and recollections. What the present war has shown is that the system first scientifically organized by Stieber forty-five years ago has been not only maintained but expanded. For many years past Germany has been spending on her secret service between three and four million dollars annually, that is to say, about five times as much as France and from twelve to fifteen times as much as Great Britain. The purpose to which these funds are mainly devoted is the establishment and maintenance of spies at fixed posts in potentially hostile countries. In France, where this smothered warfare has been waged most persistently and can best be studied, the principal agents are rarely Germans. They are as a rule Swiss, Belgians, and Alsatians, with a sprinkling of corrupt Frenchmen. If they are Germans, then they hasten to take out naturalization papers and to make themselves conspicuous by protestations of loyalty to the land of their adoption. But in all cases they are instructed to disguise their operations under the forms of

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ordinary business. . . . Men who were in Brussels in the early days of the war have assured me that the infection of hatred, terror, and mistrust which spread through the city as the daring and ubiquity of the German agents began to be realized was worse than any battle."¹

The climax of German espionage, the most dramatic and infamous in the history of German subterfuge, precipitated the war of 1870 between France and Germany. "There was scarcely any form of deceit and subterfuge from which Bismarck seems to have shrunk in order to gain his ends." The most famous instance of his unscrupulousness, the doctoring of the Ems telegram and the sending of it to the Press in mutilated form, is recorded without apology in the Memoirs by his hand. It was a process of "editing" which, as Moltke said at the time, turned a note of parley into a note of defiance, and it led directly to the French declaration of war. However inevitable that war may have been, however justifiable its purpose on the German side, no English statesman's reputation could have survived the exposure of such an abuse of international canons. Bismarck, however, and his two accomplices in the deceit, Moltke and Roon, had absolutely no qualms.²

"Bismarck's cult of power, his disbelief in all but material forces, his cynicism, his lack of

¹ Sydney Brooks in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

² "British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

scruple, his brutality—these things indeed the German people have taken to their hearts and exalted like a religion.”¹ The policies of Frederick the Great and Bismarck are a part of the world’s history ; the propaganda of Bernhardt and the tragic record in Belgium are a part of the story of our own times. The craftiness of Metternich and the vandalism of Attila continue to direct the policies and shape the destinies of the German people.

The New York Sun of June 21, 1915, contained the following :

“ John F. Bass, war correspondent of *The Chicago Daily News*, who performed noteworthy work in the Boxer Insurrection and later in the Philippine campaign, returned yesterday on the American liner *New York*, after ten months on Russia’s eastern battle front, where he was slightly wounded in the back of the neck by shrapnel from a German shell. Mr. Bass said that the reports of the shortage of arms and ammunition in Russia were minimized rather than exaggerated.

“ Many armouries and manufacturing plants in the interior of Russia, said Mr. Bass, which were stocked with ammunition and arms at the beginning of the war, have been blown up by German spies, whose activity in that work has been facilitated by connivance with Russian military officers, themselves Germans or of German descent. Mr. Bass himself was in Petrograd, he asserted, when a large powder plant was destroyed by a German agent.

“ ‘ These spies,’ continued Mr. Bass, ‘ maintain a regular system of communication throughout the empire, and a number of Russian officers are known to be implicated with

¹ “ British and German Ideals,” *The Round Table*.

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them. While I was at Warsaw I saw one Russian officer hanged for espionage. He was caught red-handed.'"

"The creed of modern Germany not merely postulates material power as necessary to a State, if it is to maintain its civilization and its distinctive caste of moral ideas; but it sets material power above all other factors whatsoever, and makes morality subservient to that governing idea."¹ It is this creed that supports the German spy system, extolling as heroic acts those practices which the rest of the civilized world has condemned as cowardly and detestable, and it is the creed that has sustained the planning and execution of those atrocities and execrable brutalities which have shocked civilization.

"The German race has always been pre-eminent for barbarity in war. Germany's conquests have largely been barren because of the brutality of her methods. Her idea of making Italy a province of the Empire was to devastate it; the Thirty Years' War was perhaps the most horrible in its excesses of all that have stained the face of Europe since the time of Attila. We need only compare it with the contemporary great Civil War in England to realize what were the excesses of the old Teutons. During the campaigns in France, in 1814 and 1815, the atrocities of the Prussian troops shocked their allies, who were not squeamish or over-sensitive. At Chateau Thierry, in 1814, the Prussians 'committed every sort of cruelty.' When General Belliaud, of the French army, entered the town, he found the women killing the wounded Prussians, and was told that it was an act of vengeance for wholesale plunder, outrage on women of all ages,

¹ "British and German Ideals."

and cold-blooded murder. Captain Gronow, describing what happened in the advance to Paris after Waterloo, says : ' Whenever we arrived at towns or villages through which the Prussians had passed we found that every article of furniture in the houses had been destroyed in the most wanton fashion ' ; and he describes how, on the slightest remonstrance, the poor people were ' beaten in a most shameful manner and sometimes shot.' This officer found a farmer at Pont St. Maixan, whose three daughters had been violated, whose cattle and horses had been stolen, and who had himself been tied to a chair and slashed with swords because he had no money. One greater than Gronow bore similar witness. Robert Southey thus describes a visit to Belgium in the autumn of 1815 :¹

" ' You will rejoice to hear that the English are well spoken of for their deportment in peace and war. It is far otherwise with the Prussians. Concerning them there is but one opinion ; of their brutality and intolerable insolence I have had but too many proofs.'

" In Paris the ruffianism of the Prussians revolted the allies. Blucher was with difficulty restrained by the Duke of Wellington from plundering the Bank of France. General Müffling put an impossible contribution on the city and arrested the Prefect because it could not be paid. British objection to such treatment of a conquered country caused differences which were not easily overcome.

" The Duke of Wellington had no illusion as to the character of his allies. Though he earned the title of the ' Iron Duke,' he was always scrupulous to respect the rights of non-combatants, as the bad men of his armies learned to their cost ; and the disregard of these rights by the Germans revolted him. Writing to his mother, he thus described the operations of the German legion :¹

" ' I can assure you that from the General of the Germans down to the smallest drummer-boy in their legion the earth never groaned with such a lot of murdering, infamous villains.

¹ " The World in the Crucible."

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They murdered, robbed and ill-treated the peasantry wherever they went.'

"The Iron Duke did not speak more strongly than he felt. He was unrelentingly stern with his own armies, punishing ill-treatment of non-combatants with the utmost severity. Sir Herbert Maxwell, in his life of the great commander, says :

"Plundering of peaceful inhabitants was the one crime he detested and was determined to put down.'

"In the Danish war of 1864 the German army destroyed public works, monuments and property of all kinds without scruple, and without any excuse of military advantage. Thus, they bombarded Sonderburg, a town situated on an island behind the Danish forces, which was quite outside the area of military operations, the only result of the bombardment being the removal of the Danish hospitals. When their excesses in the Franco-German war of 1870 formed the subject of general discussion, the Austrian papers declared that, short as had been the campaign of 1866, the German armies had left behind them in Austria the same unsavoury reputation as in Denmark. This is peculiarly instructive, for Austria had borne part in both campaigns, in one as the ally, in the other as the opponent, of Prussia."¹

At the time of the Boxers' Rebellion in China, the German troops obeyed the instruction given by the Kaiser. According to the testimony of General Wilson, who commanded the American contingent : "The atrocities perpetrated by the Germans, especially as regards women, were something too atrocious for record ; and, moreover, were unblushingly acknowledged as a regular feature of war."

The same ruthless disregard of all rules of

¹ "The World in the Crucible,"

civilized warfare, vandalism and inhuman practices have been a part of Germany's record in the present war.

"It is clear that at Ypres, Arras and Rheims, not only was no care taken to spare historic buildings, but such splendid monuments as the Cathedral, the Cloth Hall and the Markets were made especial targets. If it may be pleaded that discrimination in long-range fire is difficult, and that these cities were involved in military operations, no such plea can be advanced for the bombardment of Scarborough, Whitby, Yarmouth and the Norfolk villages. Unfortified, unoccupied by armed forces, the attack upon them was wanton, murderous, and served no military purpose whatever.

"The sanctity of hospitals has been constantly violated. The Cathedral of Rheims was not only a church, it sheltered wounded men, some of whom perished in the attack. As offensive to all human feeling also was the deliberate attempt made to torpedo the hospital ship *Asturias* on February 2, 1915, near Havre, although she bore all the signs of her calling—the white hull, the green band, the Red Cross of Geneva. Germany made a futile apology for this business many weeks after the event, when public opinion in neutral countries was roused and sternly reproachful. The explanation was that the *Asturias* carried no distinctive lights and that in the dusk of a February evening (5 p.m.) her markings could not be distinguished.

"The apology is as lame as it was belated and untrue. It was a very light and clear evening, and at 5.15 broad daylight, and in no possibility could the character of the ship be mistaken. It was possible to trace the track of the torpedo 400 yards away."¹

The German spy system has been active and virulent in the United States since the beginning

¹ "The World in the Crucible."

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of the present war. Its organization is allied with the German propaganda bureau which antedates the present war. The whole machinery of this seditious organization was put to work immediately upon the outbreak of the war. It has been tireless, unscrupulous and notoriously seditious. Allied with the German spy system have been a few of the most lawless and disreputable Irish. There have been very few lawless acts by the Irish pro-German citizens, nor have they engaged in very much seditious talk; their work has been limited to loud assertions against England and a few have indulged in bombast about "Germany freeing Ireland."

The whole United States is "spy ridden"; German spies are everywhere, engaged in every line of business, employment, trade and profession. They are always on the alert; their system extends from the most humble servant to the German Embassy at Washington. Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attache of the German Embassy at Washington, is under suspicion as one of the chief directors of this spy system. He is suspected of questionable activities in connection with the issuance of fraudulent United States passports, and he is under suspicion of having a good deal to do with the perjured affidavits stating that the *Lusitania* was armed.

Chicago is not only head-quarters of the German press bureau and propaganda, but it is also the

stronghold of the German spy system. Everything in Chicago is under German espionage. It is not possible to lodge at the hotels, eat at the restaurants, walk on the streets or ride in the cars, without being under the surveillance of German spies. Neither resident nor traveller escapes their attention. They rifle the baggage of travellers, and they have every pro-Ally "spotted." And these things are done with perfect impunity. Neither federal, state nor city official has the temerity to apprehend them. They have bluffed and bulldozed some of the largest business enterprises in the country. The newspapers in Chicago, with one exception, appear to be afraid of German influence. They threaten public officials and engage in all manner of traitorous acts. The activities of the German spy system have terrorized the whole community.

German spies have attempted to blow up passenger steamers and American warships; they have placed bombs in the Senate Chamber at Washington. Boycotting and writing threatening letters are common practices of these spies. The seditious utterances of such German-Americans as Herman Ridder, Horace Brand and their co-conspirators are in a large measure responsible for the activities of the spy system. Dr. Münsterberg and other German professors who have carried on a pro-German campaign in America are more adroit than some of the propagandists, but they

are as dangerous as the more outspoken Germans. These seditious agitators should have been apprehended at the beginning of their lawless practices.

The definition of Vandal, as given in the "Century Dictionary," is in these words: "One of a Germanic race who first appeared in middle and southern Germany, and in the first half of the fifth century ravaged Gaul, Spain, northern Africa, etc., and in 455 Rome itself, with enormous damage to accumulated treasures of art and literature. Hence—2. One who wilfully or ignorantly destroys or disfigures any work of art, literature, or the like; one who is hostile to or wantonly attacks anything that is beautiful or venerable." The signification of the word is essentially Germanic; the obsolescence of Germanic words and customs is a signal epoch in the annals of democracy.

CHAPTER IX

ESPIONAGE AND PERSECUTION IN GERMAN PROVINCES

SILESIA, Poland, Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine are provinces of conquest, and each has the same tragic story. "It is now the policy of official Germany not only to destroy the Polish language and nationality, but to drive the Poles from their country. In 1906 the children in the schools of Poland went on a strike because compelled to have their religious instruction in German. Many of them were kept back at school and flogged. Parents were fined and imprisoned for withdrawing children during the hours of religious instruction. . . . Bonuses were given to postal officials who refused to deliver letters addressed in Polish, and Government officials who showed any sympathy for Polish grievances were dismissed."¹

"The history of Denmark in the last sixty years has been nothing more than the struggle of a small people for national existence, in which pronounced hostility to Prussia has played a prominent part. Cruel expulsion of men and women ; petty

¹ "British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

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prosecutions and fines, were the order of the day, and still are, though now in a lesser degree." ¹

"In the former Danish and Polish provinces of Germany parents are forbidden to arrange for any other kind of schooling than the public schools of the German Government. . . . It has been just fifty years since Germany conquered the old Danish province of Schlesweig, of which the northern half was Danish-speaking, the southern half German-speaking. The policy of compulsory Germanizing and brutal disregard of the will of the governed has not won any noticeable progress for the German language in the province and the failure thereof has so maddened the German Government officials that they avenge themselves by inconceivable small and inhuman harassing. The latest notorious instance was to forbid Amunsden, the discoverer of the South Pole, to deliver a lecture in Danish at Schlesweig." ²

The same narrow, truculent policy of persecution has prevailed in Alsace-Lorraine, the details of which are a part of contemporary history. Germanizing by force, the only method which Prussia understands, was immediately inaugurated. "The French language was proscribed, children could only be registered under German names, the public performance of the classical French drama was forbidden, and even use of French words such as *coiffeur* and *nouveauté*, universal in trade and in common use in the rest of Germany, were forbidden in parts of Alsace-Lorraine under pain of police-court penalties." ² "When the city of Strassburg was protesting

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine."

² "British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

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against a mean attack of the Government upon its industrial welfare, said his Imperial Majesty :

" Listen to here you have only known the good side of me ; you . . . be able to learn the other side of me . . . If this situation lasts, we will suppress your constitution and annex you to Prussia." ¹

There has been no change in German policies and practices since the days of Frederick the Great. It matters not whether we judge Germany by her history or by her words and deeds of the present generation, the sum and substance of it all is the barbarities of the Huns exemplified in the teachings of Bernhardi.

" In domestic policy it became a government axiom that everything non-German was dangerous to the German State and had to be overcome, not by conciliation and compromise, but by force. This was the traditional policy of Prussia, and how far Prussian doctrines have corrupted the liberal Germany of the South is seen in the following lines about Poland, by a friendly biographer of Bismarck : ²

" " Nothing shows the change which he (Bismarck) has been able to bring about in German thought better than the attitude of the nation towards Poland. In the old days the Germans recollected only that the partition of Poland had been a great crime, and it was their hope and determination that they

¹ Prof. Ladd, *New York Times*.

² " British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

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might be able to make amends for it. In those days the Poles were to be found in every country in Europe, foremost in fighting on the barricades; they helped the Germans to fight for liberty, and the Germans were to help them to recover independence. In 1848 Mieroslawski had been carried like a triumphant hero through the streets of Berlin. . . . At a time when poets still were political leaders, and the memory and influence of Byron had not been effaced, there was scarcely a German poet—Platen, Uhland, Heine—who had not stirred up enthusiasm for Poland. It was against this attitude of mind that Bismarck had to struggle, and he has done so successfully. He has taught that it is the duty of Germany to use all the power of the State for crushing and destroying the Polish language and nationality.'

"It is this doctrine of national ascendancy—a doctrine naturally attractive to the autocratic rulers of Germany and gradually accepted by a people politically demoralized by having no responsibility for public policy—which is the primary cause of the war. It permeates every act of official policy. It blinds Germany to the claims of justice and liberty when the rights and independence of other races or nations are involved. And it has driven her headlong into a policy which was bound to bring her into collision with those of her neighbours who valued their freedom and were strong enough to resist her will."¹

According to Treitschke, and the ruling class in Germany, "States do not arise out of the people's sovereignty, but they are created against

¹ "British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

the will of the people." The State is something above the people and they have no rights in the State. It demands obedience and stands superior to the laws of morality. "It will always," says Treitschke, "redound to the glory of Machiavelli that he has placed the State on a solid foundation, and that he has freed the State and its morality from the moral precepts taught by the Church, but especially because he has been the first to teach that the State is power."

The policy of winning and maintaining ascendancy by force is the traditional Prussian policy. This policy of force, backed up by persecution in all of Germany's provinces, has made Germany drunk with the idea of her so-called destiny. "The State's highest moral duty is to increase its power," said Bernhardt, and "The State is justified in making conquests whenever its own advantage seems to require additional territory." The "German people is the greatest civilized people known to history," and this writer of modern German doctrine tells the world that "Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful and vigorous nations."

"Chauvinism, pride, and unlimited confidence in their own strength have intoxicated the Germans." Conquest and world-domination is their present religion; one German writer has said that the "German people is the elect of God, and its enemies are the enemies of the Lord."

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And from an oration by the theologian, Lezius, the following is taken :

"The Polish press should be simply annihilated. All Polish societies should be suppressed, without the slightest apology being made for such a measure. This summary procedure should be likewise applied to the French and Danish press, as well as to the societies of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein. Especially should no consideration whatever be shown to anything relating to the Poles. The Constitution should be altered with regard to the latter. The Poles should be looked upon as helots. They should be allowed but three privileges : to pay taxes, serve in the army, and shut their jaws."

An overwhelming majority of the Germans give their loyal support to the Kaiser, and the German-Americans are as grovelling and devoted to their master as it is possible for a servile people to be. Education and association under democratic institutions in America have not made freemen of these hyphenated Americans, who continue to serve the German Government and endorse its policies. Persecution in German provinces has given the world a very valuable object-lesson. The world will understand what to expect where German domination prevails, and America should understand to what danger this country is exposed by German-American propagandists. The hope of America is in the success of the Allies ; there can be no security for America except in the defeat of Germany.

"The future security of Europe, the future peace of the world,

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will depend upon the removal of conditions which made this war possible and inevitable. The Teuton ideal of dominion by might must be cut out like a cankerous growth from the body of Europe, that it may never infect the being of any other race or nation. The belief that one race or State may, by force and power of arms, impose its will upon the spiritual lives of another race or State is as dangerous as it is unsuccessful. It is degrading alike to upholder and to victim. The whole history of South-Eastern Europe bears tragic witness to the wrongs and perils of the system; and wherever else the German grasp has tightened the baleful influence of this ideal has been felt. It has brought neither satisfaction nor profit to the Germans in their colonies. In Alsace-Lorraine, in Schleswig-Holstein, and in Prussian Poland it has produced only injustice and writhing discontent; in Galicia and in the Slavonic territories of Austria-Hungary it has been brutally futile."¹

¹ "The World in the Crucible."

CHAPTER X

GERMAN ESPIONAGE IN AMERICA

GERMAN espionage was established in this country many years ago. It is the German spy system and a part of the established foreign policy of the German Government. It was well organized and in full operation at the outbreak of the war between the United States and Spain. German propaganda came later and was inaugurated as Germany's "American policy." German propagandism is under the direction of the educational department, and its organization is complete and as efficient as the army, and it is as subservient to the will of the Emperor. Moreover, it "has over the army the advantage of being able to operate in time of peace." The educational system of Germany "is state-controlled from top to bottom. It is lavishly fostered by the Government, but always on condition that it steadily inculcates the duties of political obedience and patriotism. Appointments are subject to Government control, and criticism of the Government or open sympathy with democratic aims involves dismissal or loss of all chance of promotion or preferment."¹

¹ "British and German Ideals," *The Round Table*.

"The professors and universities have always played an important part in German politics from the days of Baron von Stein onwards." Every German professor in this country is a quasi-German official, and his work is done under the direction of the German Government. Prof. Hugo Münsterberg was the pioneer German propagandist in this country. He was engaged at Harvard University in 1892, and he claims that he has carried on his "political work" in the United States for twenty years. Soon after Prof. Münsterberg was established at Harvard, Prof. Kuno Francke, "a distinguished *savant* whose speciality was Germanics, was called to Harvard. Under his able administration there sprang into being a Germanic Museum, which to-day has no rival outside of the Fatherland. The Kaiser bestowed special favour on this newest emblem of Deutschum at Harvard, and shortly afterwards the late Mr. Adolphus S. Busch, the multi-millionaire German-American brewer, of St. Louis, who had a castle on the Rhine and sons-in-law in the German Army, endowed the university with funds for the museum. William II. filled it with an elaborate gift collection of Germanic trophies. He has enriched it generously from time to time, and, with the exception of the great German National Museum at Nuremberg, there is no more representative display of Germanics anywhere than at Harvard."

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"When Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia came to the United States in 1902, he visited Harvard as the guest of Dr. Münsterberg, and took back with him to the Fatherland glowing accounts of the apparently successful inauguration of the German spirit at the 'hub' of American culture. Not long after Prince Henry's return to Germany the Kaiser announced the foundation of the Exchange Professorship scheme, whereby distinguished men from the faculties of Harvard and Berlin Universities were to lecture annually in each other's country.

"Though Dr. Münsterberg has never been the only German professor at Harvard, he has been the most advertised and the most advertising. Whether it was Samoa, Manila, Venezuela, or any of the other issues which clouded the German-American horizon, Dr. Münsterberg was always in the forefront with arguments in behalf of Germany. . . . He made frequent trips to Washington, the White House door was always open to him. . . . His activities in that direction gradually became so pronounced that, whether he deserved it or not, he acquired the reputation of being a German lobbyist. He boasted that succeeding administrations at Washington were accustomed to consult him on German-American topics, and once, as I know, he took credit to himself for the appointment of United States Ambassadors to the German Court.

"Dr. Münsterberg's first war outburst was a book called 'America and the War,' in which, with characteristic dogmatism, he laid down the lines of thought which should guide Americans into support of Germany. It became one of the German organization's principal weapons, and the author's national reputation helped to spread its circulation. Next, Dr. Münsterberg inaugurated his underground work. He began to visit and write to important editors in Boston and New York, remonstrating vigorously with journals which espoused the anti-German cause, and exhibiting no discouragement in the face of constant rebuff and failure. . . . He even wrote a letter to the President of the United States, complaining that from the standpoint of strict neutrality, German

interests were not being fairly considered by the Government. He set forth his grievances in the name of German-Americans, whom he represented as being greatly embittered by the Administration's attitude toward various questions raised by the war. President Wilson sent a courteous reply, asking Dr. Münsterberg to submit a bill of specifications. The Professor did so; the President acknowledged receipt of his letter, and the incident ended. A story is told that the President sent a distinguished democratic politician and supporter of the Administration to Dr. Münsterberg, to ask wherein the Government's attitude was displeasing to German-Americans—apparently with a view to remedying it in their favour—but I believe the version I have given is right.

"Harvard has 700 professors and teachers. . . . I suppose a census of its faculty and students would reveal 99 per cent. of anti-German sentiment. There, within gun-shot of Bunker Hill, is no place to look for sympathy with the cause of Kaiserism and *Machtpolitik*. Only two of Harvard's American professors are pro-German. One of them was first Exchange Professor at Berlin and fell an easy victim to Imperial blandishments."¹

German teachers have not made a very pleasant impression in the United States since the beginning of the war. The German professors who have rushed into print to defend Germany's cause have done it more harm than the enemy. They do not deal with the fundamental moral questions involved in this war; nor do they deal with facts. They have made no progress in upholding the policies of the German Government, and their defence of the atrocious practices of the German Army has aroused the contempt of the American

¹ Boston Correspondent, *The Times*, London.

people. Dr. Münsterberg has been a resident of Cambridge for twenty-three years, and, according to his own modest statements, he has enjoyed not only exceptional opportunities at the oldest American University, but also with several administrations at Washington. According to reliable reports, 99 per cent. of the faculty and students are anti-German in sentiment. This is not a very good showing for the cause or its advocate.

"The German Publication Society" opened head-quarters in New York with a "Consulting Executive Board" made up of two German professors now serving in American Universities, including Prof. Münsterberg, and five professors of German Universities. This society sent a "confidential" communication to Prof. Gottheil of Columbia, advising that "this company contemplates, at the instance of leading German scholars, diplomats and business men, to publish for early distribution and sale at a popular price an authentic compilation, in one volume, the facts and papers underlying and leading up to the present war in Europe, and showing the part played in it by Germany." To that letter Prof. Gottheil sent a very interesting reply, from which the following is taken :

"The part played by Germany in bringing on the war and in carrying it on through Belgium and Northern France is perfectly well known to all students of contemporary events. The American public is commencing to resent the interference

upon the part of imported German scholars and public men, as well as on the part of hyphenated American citizens, in the attempt to turn the clear judgment of the American people upon these two points. It is about time that this attempt ceased."

"O. J. Merkel, secretary of the newly-formed Germany University League in New York, wrote to Prof. Albion W. Small, dean of the graduate school of arts and literature in the University of Chicago, asking him to comment upon the joint statement of Profs. Rudolph Eucken and Ernst Haeckel, of the University of Jena, to the Universities of America relative to Germany's position in the war. Prof. Small is editor of *The American Journal of Sociology*."

Prof. Small's reply is so able and scholarly, so broad and philosophical, and, above all, so genuinely American and patriotic, it ought to be read in every church and school and printed in every newspaper in this country. It is so apposite to the present situation that the following striking sentences are selected :

"My wife is a German. She comes from an old Prussian officer-familie. We were married in Berlin in 1881. Practically all of my professional equipment was obtained either directly from the Germans or indirectly through modification and reconstruction on the basis of work previously done by the Germans. During my whole academic life my thinking has been influenced more by the Germans than by all the rest of the world put together.

"From our point of view the circular which you enclose, signed by Professors Eucken and Haeckel, so pitiaibly betrays

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arrest of critical processes that it has had the effect upon judicial Americans of a studied insult to our intelligence.

"The outstanding facts are that the German Government came to the conclusion that the psychological moment had arrived for the irrepressible conflict in the interest of what a recent German author has called the 'German idea in the world.'

"In my judgment German deeds in the present war would have been judged less severely in America if there had been no German special pleading in attempted palliation of the deeds. At all events, Germany has been placed in an unfortunate light whenever German professors have tried to influence American opinion about the war."

When the war broke out, public opinion in this country was almost entirely with the Allies. The violation of Belgian neutrality, the sickening story of blood and fire and nameless outrages by the German Army, all combined to turn the American people against the Kaiser and his military caste. The feeling of the people was reflected in the Press; there was hardly an American newspaper or magazine that was not with the Allies. Pretty soon, however, the Kaiser sent Dr. Dernburg to America, and this astute propagandist quickly put in action the powerful agencies awaiting his direction. The country has been deluged with pro-German literature. When the organization for German propaganda began to take shape, its influence was felt in every newspaper office and in every line of business in every part of this country.

German propagandism in this country had at

the beginning a perfect organization. As stated by the American correspondent of *The Field*, London, Dr. Dernburg established head-quarters in the offices of the Hamburg-American line, and took over the staff of that office and had at his disposal agents in every town of any importance in the United States. Through this important connection he was able to reach practically every business interest in the United States. But the work was not limited to business interests; it had allied associations reaching every class of citizens. Its Press Bureau is the most complete and comprehensive organization that has ever undertaken to influence public opinion in this country. With information in detail relating to national, state and local affairs, it has been able to reach the strong and weak points, the affiliations and prejudices of practically every citizen of this country. It has been supplied with the name and address of every American who has registered at a German university during the past twenty years, and to these Americans have been sent letters and literature defending German methods and upholding German policies with the usual appeal for support and sympathy.

Dr. Dernburg came to America the third or fourth week of the war. He had the active co-operation of great financial and commercial institutions and a large number of German periodicals and newspapers, including several old American

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papers in the Middle-West, which have been under Germanic influence. His country has fewer friends in America than it had when he began his work. Practically every leading magazine, periodical and newspaper east of Pittsburg and, with few exceptions, all west of Pittsburg, are pro-Ally. More than four-fifths of the faculty of every American college are with the Allies. The substantial support which Germany has in this country, other than the hyphenated Americans, their co-conspirators and hirelings, is found with the whisky trust, the most lawless and corrupt industry in America. The bumptious policy, the sheer impudence of the German Ambassador, without precedent in American diplomacy. The German Empire has no representative in America for whom the people have any respect and in whom they have any confidence.

Dr. Dernburg and his bureau found enthusiastic supporters in the most irreconcilable group of Irish patriots. Joint Irish-American meetings were held from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Certain Irish papers, such as *The Gaelic American* in New York, whose editor, John Devoy, had served five years in an English prison for Fenianism, began denouncing John Redmond as a traitor and demanding a German invasion of Ireland. From Dr. Dernburg's office tons of literature found its way into the mails. Most Americans of prominence received pamphlets on "the truth

about the war," and documentary evidence purporting to prove that Belgium got just about what she deserved.

"An especially belligerent advocate of the German cause is the weekly newspaper, the *Fatherland*. Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, hitherto chiefly known as a poet of eroticism, established this enterprise on the ninth day of mobilization. Soon after Dr. Dernburg's arrival this paper was moved up to 1123 Broadway, in an office generally regarded as part of the Dernburg suite. From the beginning, the *Fatherland* has competently abused most things American. It is only necessary to quote its reference to certain leaders of American thought to appreciate the delicacy with which it has preached its cause. The ex-president of our most venerable University is called 'sleek old Eliot, who bartered away his reputation and the prestige of his University for a five-foot bookshelf.' Our Secretary of State becomes Sir William J. Bryan; he is 'filthy and dishonest'; and constant reference is made to the fact that his daughter is the wife of a British army captain. President Wilson is 'the weak-kneed sophist in the White House,' and columns are given to denouncing him and his policies. Indeed, any prominent citizen who whispers a word against Germany is sure to have a vituperative paragraph in the *Fatherland*."¹

In its issue of May 22, 1915, *The Scoop*, Chicago Press Club magazine, contained the following interesting news item:

"Theodore Sutro, of New York, president of the German Publishers' Society, came to town Saturday and departed Sunday, leaving in his wake a popular mystery. He was accompanied by the secretary of the society, C. S. Huntley. They rented the Francis I. room at the Congress hotel and

¹ "World's Work," June, 1915.

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made arrangements for a banquet, notifying the management that no publicity was desired. When reporters presented themselves in the evening they were not admitted. Mr. Sutro would not be interviewed, declined to discuss his visit, or identify his guests. Thirty leading pro-German sympathizers of Chicago attended the banquet. Waiters said they discussed the war, but the waiters themselves were shut out before any discussion began."

Further evidence of German espionage is found in the following news item published in several Chicago papers :

" Praise of Kaiser Wilhelm and omission of laudation of American heroes or those of other nations in the spelling-book used in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades of the Chicago public schools has riled the neutrality spirit of many Chicagoans.

" Protests were heard to-day through many sections of the city, generally from the parents of children of Polish, Bohemian, Serbian, French and Italian antecedents, who urged that an investigation be made to the end that the matter so objectionable to them be expunged from the speller."

A resolution was presented before the Board of Education protesting against the Kaiser story and asking that it be eliminated. Although the resolution was presented at the request of eighty-six societies the Board of Education refused to consider it. Another resolution from the *Deutsch-Americanischer Nationalbund* demanding that the story be retained was adopted, and the story about the Kaiser remains in the book being used by the Chicago schools.

The spelling-book tribute to the Kaiser contained among a lot of other rubbish these words: He "possesses that chivalrous sense of fair play which is the nearest thing to a religion that may be looked for at that age, hates meanness and favouritism and will wherever possible expose them. There is in him a fundamental bent toward what is clean, manly and above board." This is a fine lot of stuff to be read by children in the public schools of America. The speller ought to be revised and the new edition should contain later evidence of the Kaiser's "chivalrous sense of fair play," which may be found in the story of the violation of Belgium's neutrality and Belgian atrocities, with a few words about the *Lusitania*. And here is a selection from one of the Kaiser's speeches which would be good reading for an American schoolboy: "Only one is master of this country. That is I. Who opposes me, I shall crush to pieces." The times have changed and American standards and ideals are changing rapidly. Stories of Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln no longer have any place in American spelling books. The President's late congratulatory birthday message would fit in very well with the beautiful tribute to the Kaiser.

Apropos of this spelling-book incident, the following is taken from a letter addressed to *The Chicago Evening Post*:

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"I believe that if the character of the man (so ill-suited to be chosen as an example for children to follow—in fact, a bad example for anyone to pattern after) was known there would be no question as to the advisability of its remaining in a school book. The story would at once be torn out of the books by Americans of all nationalities, hyphenated Germans included.

"'Honour thy father and thy mother' is a text believed in by all the world. Let us see how William II. treated his father. The Emperor Frederick, father of William II., shortly after his accession to the throne, was attacked by a disease of the throat. William, mad with ambition to be an Emperor, tried his utmost to have certain German doctors examine his father and have the disease diagnosed as cancer of the throat, for no Hohenzollern afflicted with an incurable disease can occupy the Prussian throne. His unfilial attempts were all very cleverly frustrated by his mother, the Empress Frederick (a daughter of Queen Victoria), who at once sent to England for Morel Mackenzie, an English throat specialist. He diagnosed the case as smoker's sore throat. Emperor Frederick lived for some months, during the whole time most carefully guarded by the Empress from the numerous and crafty attempts of this unnatural son, who tried in every way to gain admittance for the German doctors who were to claim that his father had an incurable disease and thus enable him, William, to seize the throne.

"After William was crowned Kaiser, his brutal treatment of his mother, the ex-Empress, was even commented upon by the Press, and at last he was, in a sense, compelled to pay her a few visits just before she died. This is William II. as son.

"His behaviour to and public humiliation of the great man, Bismarck, who made Germany what it is to-day, was equally flagrant. Twice in twenty-four hours did this ungrateful monarch send a messenger to the old hero to demand his resignation as Chancellor of Germany. For several years after this disgraceful treatment the old man Bismarck lived

almost in exile. Such was the gratitude of William II. to one of the greatest men of his time, Bismarck.

"Such are a few of the acts of the man held up as an example to American children by an American woman, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young. Who caused her to use this article in an American school-book? Was it also German influence? The same German influence that is insisting upon the article remaining in the American school-book? I should be charmed to hear of any noble or manly deed ever done by William II. of Germany. All honour to our Bohemian citizens for insisting upon the removal of the article, 'A Kaiser in the Making,' from the school-books of our American children."

With the usual caution of a pro-German newspaper, this addendum is made:

"(Editor's Note—Your reference to events since the war was omitted in order to bring your letter within limits. Your indictment of the Kaiser as a son is, of course, open to question and possible refutation.)"

This letter is signed, "Naturalized Citizen." What a pity the writer of this splendid letter did not give his or her name. It would be respected and honoured by every true American in Chicago, and every other patriot in this country, where the circumstances are known and the letter has been read. This "naturalized citizen" is an honour to the country from which he or she came and to the country of his or her adoption.

The following news item was published by *The New York Times*:

"A new move on the part of the German propaganda in this country was disclosed yesterday. From the offices of

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the *Fatherland* a circular letter has been sent out to editors of German publications throughout the country, asking them to reply to a series of questions, framed to bring out their opinion of the policy of the Wilson Administration toward Germany and the effect this will have upon the German-American vote in the next election. What these opinions are has been already pretty clearly indicated in the publications in question."

And this also is from a Chicago paper: "Applications for naturalization papers by Germans have increased in Chicago fivefold in one court and doubled in another since the sinking of the *Lusitania*."

At a meeting of the "German-American Alliance," at Elizabeth, N.J., August 22, 1915, resolutions were adopted condemning the shipment of arms and munitions of war to the "enemies of Germany." And it was "resolved, that we declare the sinking of the *Arabic* was justified and deserved, that we endorse Germany's submarine policy and extend to her marine commanders the unstinted praise to which they are entitled."

Criminal practices of German-Americans began within ten days after the war started. August 29, 1914, the Du Pont storehouse was blown up at Pompton, N.J., and from the beginning of the war to September 1, 1915, thirty-four lives were lost and twenty-two persons injured as a result of the destruction, or attempted destruction, of American factories by German-American incendiaries.

President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labour, gave out an interview in which he said :

" Authentic information has come to me that efforts have been made to corrupt men for the purpose of having strikes inaugurated among the seamen and longshoremen engaged in handling of American products and manning ships containing American products consigned to certain European ports, and that the corrupting influence was being conducted by agents of a foreign Government, and that I have no doubt that the same agencies and influences were at work elsewhere with the same purpose in view."

After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, German-Americans came forward with numerous false reports and ready to testify to any sort of lie that would temporarily serve their purpose. One Gustav Stahl, German reservist, pleaded guilty to perjury in making affidavits that he saw four guns on the *Lusitania* just before that liner's last voyage, and he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

German-Americans held public meetings in many American cities immediately following the outbreak of the war. The newspapers reported that 5,000 Germans held a meeting in New York where very radical pro-German speeches were made ; the speakers " hailed the day when the German flag would fly over Paris and London." There has been no occasion for apprehension at the prospect of the German flag flying over Paris and London, but the suggestion was offensive to

the American people. Hyphenated Americans who wished to see the German flag flying over Paris and London ought to have left this country and tried to put their flag where they would like to have it. No patriotic American wants to see the German flag flying over Paris or London.

Chicago is the American stronghold of Germanism ; the head-quarters of Germanistic and un-American propaganda. But Chicago is not the only city in the Middle-West where the pro-German and anti-American sentiment has been rampant. Its near neighbour, the home of " the beer that made Milwaukee famous," had a dramatic scene in one of its leading clubs when a member of the club, wearing a German flag, trampled an American flag under his feet and made a few, uncomplimentary remarks about the Stars and Stripes.

Hyphenated Americans have held demonstrations in Chicago where there have been a lot of bombastic talk and boisterous conduct ; bravado and mendacious whining threats have been the main features of these meetings. Their meeting places have been profusely decorated with German flags and the American flag has been conspicuous by its absence. Praise for the Kaiser, for whom they seem to have an idolatrous veneration, and denunciation of the English, whom they so bitterly hate and truly fear, are the common practices of these hyphenated Americans. They

do not know, or they cannot understand, that the Kaiser stands for those things which are fundamentally opposed to the institutions of this country. These German-Americans came to this country in search of freedom and prosperity ; they have received protection and encouragement. A large number of these agitators are the sons of pauper immigrants who came to this country in large numbers from 1835 to 1850. These indigent and expatriated Germans were given the protection of the American flag and fed by American citizens when they were without a country and without food or shelter. No ingratitude could be more gross than that being shown by these German-Americans who owe all they have to America. Their policies and practices are not only offensive to all true Americans, but dangerous, utterly at variance with the traditional policy of this country and contrary to the neutrality proclamation of the President. Moreover, these agitators have broken their oath of allegiance, they have stirred up class strife, embittered racial prejudice and weakened the position of this country in its foreign relations. These evil and pernicious things have happened in troublous times when our country needs the unqualified support of every true patriot.

Since the beginning of this war, the Press in certain sections of the United States, largely under German influence, has been crammed with

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German propaganda. German propagandists have had not only ample space in well-established American papers with large circulation, but they have also been very active in press clubs and with various bureaux and associations which issue periodicals, bulletins or other forms of literature for special or general circulation. They have been able to direct the policy of many such publications. Trade journals and advertising pamphlets and circulars have been used to further the distribution of German propaganda, all of which has been undemocratic and un-American. Reference to a few of the conspicuous cases will throw some light on this potential phase of the Germanizing process.

CHAPTER XI

PRESS BUREAU IN AMERICA

IN its issue of August 15, 1914, "the world's greatest newspaper," published in Chicago, printed an article by one of its staff "who yesterday returned from Europe," from which this astounding prediction is taken: "Here and now I forecast that a week from Sunday will find France and Belgium conquered by Germany, England suing for peace, and Russia not even in the fight." It has been eleven months since the appointed time for these international events and we are not yet definitely advised that these great things have actually happened. However, we have the "forecast" of the "world's greatest newspaper," and there must be some good reason for the delay. This tardiness may be due to the Kaiser's preoccupation in other more important matters which must necessarily engage the attention of "God's vice-regent."

The article from which this remarkable "forecast" is taken also contained a very interesting story of the social and political situation of the Allies, which was summed up in these words: "France is a corrupt and immoral nation. A few

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years more, and France would have extinguished itself. Belgium is not much better. But Germany is in the full bloom of health and power. . . . Germany has been prepared for this war for more than forty years. . . . Inside of a week the Germans will march through Belgium and France as a giant would stride through a kindergarten. Germany has nothing to fear from England. The poor are starving in the streets of London. Russia is a disloyal, disorganized nation. Its armament is nothing."

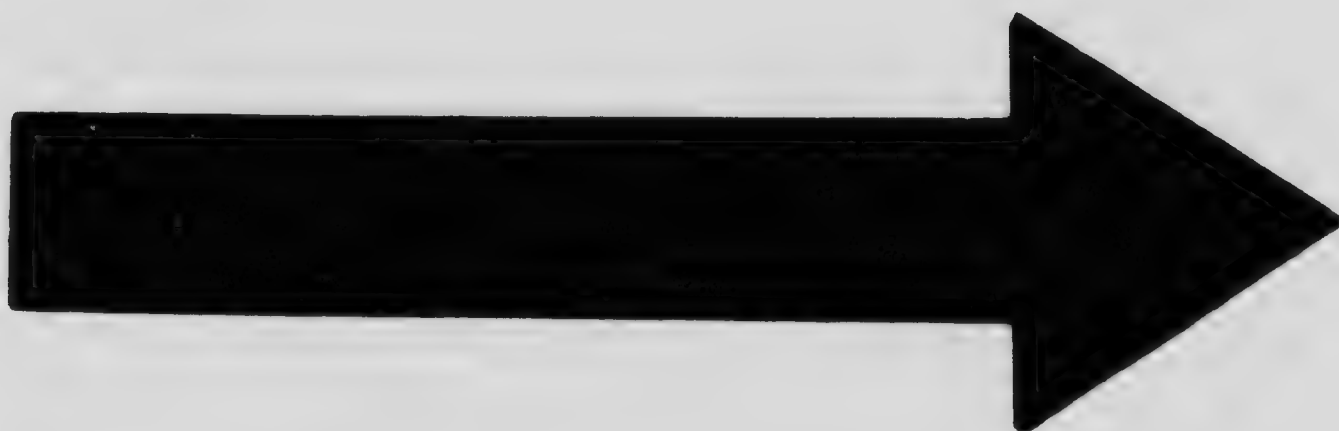
A Commission appointed by the King of the Belgians came to this country in September, 1914, and submitted to the President "evidence of brutalities and wanton acts of destruction committed by the Germans in Belgium." Immediately following presentation of the Belgian Commission at the White House, Mr. Horace L. Brand, of Chicago, publisher of the *Staats-Zeitung*, appeared in Washington for the purpose of presenting to the President a petition signed by German-American citizens of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The President very properly declined to receive Mr. Brand, his delegation and petition. Mr. Brand has been very active and aggressive with his Germanic propaganda. He has written a lot of bombastic stuff for his own papers and arranged to have quite of lot of his writings published in other American papers. *Harper's Weekly* published a letter from Mr. Brand as follows :

"With considerable expense to myself, I have had a drawing made by a celebrated American artist, showing the burning of the city of Washington on August 25, 1814, by the British troops. I had this picture reproduced, and am sending you, post paid, an electrotype of same.

"Inasmuch as your weekly claims to be impartial and thoroughly American in its policy, and inasmuch as you have published both editorials and drawings partial to the British cause, I presume you will gladly publish this historically accurate picture, although it might be considered anti-British. At all events, I will take it for granted that you will publish it."

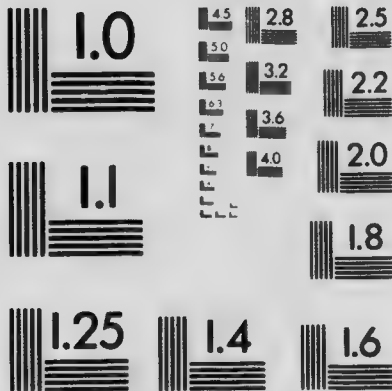
Commenting on this letter, *Harper's Weekly* said: "The fact is, we shall not publish it at all." In further reference to German-American sentiment and practices in this country, *Harper's Weekly* said: "In one large, middle-Western city, for example, the newspapers were told by the Germans that they were not fair, and it would be to the interest of their papers to change their attitude. Calls were made on the business managers, and this argument pressed. Both the principal local papers failed to print the extremely interesting letter in which Professor Francke declined to support the so-called 'Neutrality League.' Several men took copies of this letter to the two papers and asked that it be printed. Both papers declined on the ground that the local Germans would be angry."

The Chicago Daily Journal is one truly American newspaper in Chicago. It has been fearless in attacking the seditious policies of the German-



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American Press. The following is taken from *The Daily Journal* of June 2 :

" German editors have not been content with taking sides with Germany against the Allies; that was natural and proper. They have taken sides with Germany against the United States; that is treason. They have viewed every public question in America through German spectacles; they have tried to shape American public policy solely for the Kaiser's advantage; they have heaped indignities on the President of the United States which in any other country would have landed them in jail."

" One of these editors says of the foreign policy of the present administration :

" ' It is un-American! It is unfair! . . . It must cease, or President Wilson must resign! ' "

" Take time to grasp and assimilate the stupid impudence of that remark. An imported editor, posing as a ' leader of German sentiment,' demands the resignation of the President of the United States! "

" Then consider the following, not so impertinent as the first quotation, perhaps, but more treasonable! "

" ' We are not afraid of any grave complications between this Republic and Germany, because this Government has pursued, since the war started, a policy of cowardice! '—*Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, May 8, 1915. In other words, the United States is a coward among nations because it declines to pull the Kaiser's chestnuts out of the fire, and, being a coward, may be insulted with impunity."

The Germanophil Press of this country, with its stronghold in Chicago, where it is dominated by Germanic and anti-American influences, has shown a very tender regard for German sensibilities. No

consideration has been shown for British, French, Belgian or Russian sensibilities. No regard has been shown for the feelings of patriotic Americans, and the truth about German atrocities and duplicity in many cases has been suppressed. The war correspondents of these papers have had few kind words for the Allies, nor have they written the true story of current events. Under military escort, these correspondents have heard only German news and that carefully filtered. With adulation for the Kaiser and his military staff, these writers have not only failed to see the whole truth but they have frequently featured stuff unworthy of an American citizen.

Robert J. Thompson resigned his post as American consul at Aix-la-Chapelle on account, as he stated, of "friction with Secretary of State Bryan." He stated that he was "instructed to remain entirely neutral, to cease his investigations of the atrocities stories, to incorporate in his official reports only official business, and to refrain from expressing an opinion as to the truth or falseness of the charges made against the German army." "Mr. Thompson refused to carry out these instructions," insisting that it was his duty not only to make a careful investigation, but to report the result of such investigation to Washington. As Aix-la-Chapelle is in German territory, and the duties of the consul were very exacting and required his presence at the consulate, it has not

been made quite clear what opportunity and facilities an American consul, under German military surveillance, would have for investigating alleged atrocities of the German army in Belgium.

Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, addressed a letter to Colonel Wengersky, district-commander of the German army at Malines, suggesting that a "commission of inquiry should be composed equally of German delegates and Belgian magistrates, and presided over by the representative of a neutral country. I am glad to think that His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States would not refuse to accept the presidency or to assign it to a delegate chosen by him." The Belgian Government authorized the Belgian newspapers to declare that it was ready to co-operate in the organization of an international commission of inquiry, composed of delegates of non-belligerent nations. The German Government made no reply to the proposal. "The Belgian Socialists proposed to the German Socialists . . . to take up with them a counter-inquiry. The German deputies refused. . . . M. Charles Magnette, Senator for Liège and Grand Master of Belgian Freemasons, proposed to the Masonic lodges of Germany to organize a commission of inquiry, the members to consist of Freemasons from neutral countries, to which were to be added a German and a Belgian Freemason. That pro-

posal was unequivocally rejected."¹ In view of these facts, it would be interesting to know what exceptional opportunities were offered the American consul at Aix-la-Chapelle for investigating atrocities. Mr. Thompson fails to enlighten the public on this point; however, he thought his first and highest duty was to investigate atrocities, and as the State Department took a different view of the situation, Mr. Thompson resigned his position and returned to Chicago. When he reached Chicago, he found ample space in one of the pro-German papers of Chicago, "the world's greatest newspaper," and he lost no time in using the space allotted him for a very fulsome German propaganda. Mr. Thompson's articles were given prominent place and dramatically featured. These articles were "open letters" addressed to the Secretary of State, and published in *The Chicago Tribune*, February 14 to 20, inclusive, 1915. The issue between Consul Thompson and the State Department, as stated, was Mr. Thompson's "refusal to obey instructions to discontinue his investigations of alleged atrocities." Notwithstanding the issue was plain, and Mr. Thompson resigned because he was not willing to discontinue his investigation, it does not appear from his articles that he made or attempted to make

¹ Prof. Léon Van der Essen, "Some more News about the Destruction of Louvain."

any investigation of the alleged atrocities ; the only reference to such atrocities being his commendation of war correspondents who had not reported any atrocities. On one occasion, when Artemus Ward had a very large audience, as the result of advertising "special features," he explained, in his introductory remarks to his audience, that the special feature of his lecture was that "it would contain a great deal that had nothing to do with it." Mr. Thompson was not so considerate as Artemus Ward ; he gave the readers of *The Tribune* no explanation.

Following the precedent established at the beginning of the war, or so soon thereafter as the German system was able to establish its connections, the ex-consul makes neither categorical nor general answer to the charges regarding the atrocities of the German army in Belgium. Fulsome praise of Germany and Germanic policies, stereotyped reports of German efficiency are the sum and substance of all he has published. The crux of his efforts on behalf of the Germans is found in these words which are conspicuously displayed in every one of his articles :

"I can say on the highest authority that Germany does not, nor did she ever wish to make Belgium a part of German territory. A treaty of peace such as Germany may dictate to England (if Germany should win) will result in the restoration to Belgium of her sovereignty, the repayment of Liège, Brussels and Antwerp, and her other cities and provinces of

the tribute exacted from them, and that when the final accounting is made Germany will not disappoint the world in her generosity to the crushed and unhappy state. She wants no more from Belgium, even now, than she asked of her as a life and death necessity on August 3 at the commencement of the war."

Consul Thompson's pledge that "Germany will not disappoint the world in her generosity" should bring great comfort to the bereaved Belgians who mourn over their pillaged country and murdered dead. He ought to extend the same condolence to the friends and relatives of the men, women and children who were murdered on the *Lusitania*. Such noble assurances from an American consul acting as sponsor for the German Government would be very Germanic and quite in keeping with the Bernhardi doctrine.

The German Government has had so many accredited representatives, and they make so many conflicting statements, it is hard for a plain every-day American to understand the situation regarding Germany's plans and policies relating to Belgium or any other international question. There is Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador, with his naval and military attaché, German consuls and various subordinates throughout the country. Then we have Dr. Bernhard Dernburg and his staff with officials and agents of the German shipping lines in nearly every town in the United States; and then we have the mighty German

professors who ought to be first on the list, because they began talking first and have talked louder and longer than anybody except, possibly, the German Ambassador and his rival, Dr. Dernburg. Every one of this mighty army of propagandists is a quasi-German official, and every one has imposed on American hospitality ; every one has violated our neutrality, every one has shown a contempt for the American flag and democratic institutions which are supposed to be dear to the hearts of the American people. Professor Münsterberg, Herman Ridder, Horace Brand and their vast army of un-American and un-democratic conspirators and agitators have done all in their power to involve this country in trouble. Editors of 140 German newspapers and periodicals in the United States, professors at American universities and colleges, and local German societies of all sorts and kinds in every part of the United States have maintained a crusade in favour of Germany and an agitation against America ; they have fomented boycotts against American newspapers and many lines of business.

In a speech to his army, shortly after the sacking of Belgium, the Kaiser announced in his usual florid style that " Belgium had been added to the glorious provinces of Germany " ; later came the ex-consul as envoy to " the world's greatest newspaper " who, " on the highest authority," said, " Germany does not nor did she ever wish to make

Belgium a part of German territory." Next came Dr. Dernburg with a "feeler," a hotchpotch international arrangement suggested in a letter addressed to a German-American friend in Maine. Dr. Dernburg's latest idea as to what, in his opinion, would be an "equitable solution" of the war is not in accord with the teachings of Bernhardt and the radical declarations of Professor Münsterberg at the outbreak of the present war. Dr. Dernburg's feeler was quickly followed by a report from Washington that "no truce till you agree to pay for the evacuation of Belgium" was the reply of Germany to a "recent proposal of a truce for peace discussions which Great Britain and France submitted in the conferences at Rome." Germany's attitude regarding Belgium and the Belgians has not increased the confidence of Americans in German reports from German propagandists or alleged official statements, nor has it added to our respect for German diplomacy. These periodic reports, coming at such short intervals, are a part of German propagandism in America, indiscriminately and volubly searching for a friendly response wherever it may be found.

This peace talk did not start with the Allies; it was part of the modified German propaganda. Shortly after the beginning of the war, the Allies stated the terms on which peace would be made, and the only terms; Sir Edward Grey stated why England was at war and the terms on which she

would make peace. There has been no modification of these terms and the Allies are of one mind and will not be turned aside by German subterfuges. Dr. Dernburg came to this country early in August and undertook a gigantic work which he has directed with great skill and the proverbial German efficiency. The Government of Great Britain has been fully advised of this work in all of its ramifications, and the Allies will know just how to treat all reports and suggestions which come from Dr. Dernburg's office or filter through pro-German newspapers in America whose correspondents do his bidding. This Dr. Dernburg, German "agent provocateur," changed his status to suit his needs. He has at various times stated that he spoke unofficially, semi-officially, by authority and again merely as a private citizen. He has impudently and flagrantly violated our neutrality as proclaimed by the President. He made a speech at Cleveland the day after the *Lusitania* disaster in which he approved the sinking of that ship. His presence in America has only accentuated the contempt which all true Americans have for German methods.

Mr. Charles N. Wheeler is one of the Chicago newspaper correspondents who went to Germany and returned to America a very zealous peace advocate, and incidentally with what appeared to be very strong pro-German proclivities. According to newspaper reports regarding Mr.

Wheeler, " he lately visited Europe in development of a project, some months ago proposed, of *The Tribune*, to promote the adoption in this country of dependent Belgian children." So far as the public has been informed, Mr. Wheeler's mission was not a success. The inhuman proposition to expatriate Belgian children was suggestive of German efficiency in barbarism, conceived and directed for the wicked purpose of depopulating a country which it has ruthlessly sacked. The selection of a Chicago newspaper as the promoter of this heartless undertaking was another evidence of German espionage in America. Moreover, the unhappy Belgians recalled that this newspaper had previously published an article by one of its staff in which it was said that: " France is a corrupt and immoral nation ; Belgium is not much better." German vandalism had brought Belgians to a condition of dependence where their necessities obliged them to accept food and clothing and medicines, and they have shown the highest appreciation of America's generous and prompt measures of relief. But German insults and atrocities had not destroyed the racial and national pride of the brave Belgians ; their families had been strengthened by their sufferings and sorrows, and their fortitude did not yield to German subterfuges. They would not barter their children, nor send them to a foreign land at the suggestion and through the agency of a

newspaper that did not have the courage to protest against the wanton invasion of a neutral country, the pillage and destruction of undefended communities and the murder of unprotected women and children.

From the rather pathetic business of promoting the migration of fatherless and dependent children, Mr. Wheeler turned his attention to the more practical matters of German commerce. In the *Chicago Tribune* of January 26, he reports an interview with the president of the Cotton Spinners' Association in Aachen :

"The German view of the cotton situation is that, if England were absolutely square and above board in its treatment of this matter, the recent American note to the British Government would not have been written, the cotton crop of the South would be on its way to Germany at the rate of 25,000 bales a week and the threatened *Dacia* incident would not have arisen. . . . Germany is willing, the spokesman of the German merchants said, to take 25,000 bales of cotton a week from America and pay the highest price ever paid for raw cotton."

Mr. Wheeler's report from the German spinners is very interesting, although he left a few things unsaid which the cotton producer would like to know. For instance, nothing was said about how many weeks this demand for American cotton would continue, but as Germany never does things by halves, the reasonable presumption was that the weekly demand would continue until the American supply had been exhausted. But the

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very liberal proposition to pay the highest price ever paid for raw cotton is the most interesting feature of the report.

"The highest price ever paid for raw cotton" was \$1.05 per pound. The average price for the late crop has been less than 8 cents. The average price for American cotton for ten years, 1860 to 1870, was 47 cents per pound. The average price per bale since the beginning of the present war has been less than \$40; Germany's offer was equivalent to \$475.00 per bale. Here was a clear margin of at least \$435.00 a bale in favour of the German market. The only hitch in that inviting prospect for the cotton producers was that England had been ugly and unreasonable in showing her jealousy of German trade and thrift, and was disposed to handicap and delay shipment of American cotton to the German mills.

This cotton phase of the German propaganda was "made in Germany" for consumption in the southern states of America, where the democratic party has its permanent stronghold. This puerile talk about German markets for American products is one of many subterfuges introduced into the German propaganda in this country. The crafty Germans know that cotton is our largest item of export under normal conditions, that it is the principal product of the southern states, and that all American cotton is produced in the

southern states ; they also know that the South has the controlling voice in the policies of the present Administration.

There was a good deal of cunning in this message that Germany sent to the American cotton producer, but the southern cotton planter is not so easily fooled. He has not forgotten, nor will he soon forget, that Germany was the promoter of the proposed anti-American coalition during the Spanish-American War ; nor is he unmindful of the fact that the Kaiser, shortly after the horrible Armenian atrocities in 1908, paid his second visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and from Constantinople he went to Jerusalem and Damascus, where he proclaimed himself the protector not only of Turkey but of the whole Mohammedan world, although he had not a single Moslem subject. " May the Sultan and the three hundred million Mussulmans scattered over the earth be assured that the German Emperor will always be their friend." This spectacular performance by the King of the Huns was the beginning of German ascendancy in Constantinople and German influence in Asia Minor, the first practical result of which was the Bagdad railway concession. This was not only a strategic movement directed at England but the beginning of a gigantic movement materially to reduce the foreign demand for American cotton, by strenuous efforts to develop the culture of cotton in Asia Minor, where labour

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is cheaper than in the American section, and ports can be reached which are nearer to German mills than South-Atlantic and Gulf ports.

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"The costs of production in Mesopotamia, owing to the cheapness of arable land, and the low standard of life among the natives, are far lower than on the Nile or in the Southern States of America. Even without a Bagdad railway the possibilities of growing excellent cotton for export purposes in that part of the world have been proved."¹

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The potash monopoly of Germany is another evidence of antagonism to southern development where potash is used in large quantities for fertilizing the cotton plant. From the beginning of this war, seventy-five per cent. of the southern people have been in full sympathy with the Allies. Germany's utter contempt for treaty obligations and all usages and laws of civilized nations, and her unspeakable atrocities in Belgium have incensed the southern people; Germany's clever subterfuges in the cotton controversy have added to the contempt in which the practices of that nation are held by the southern people.

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An official of the Federal Reserve Bank at Atlanta, who happens to be a wealthy merchant of German parentage, residing at Birmingham, Ala., gave out an interview in which he asserted that New England and Old England mills were in a conspiracy to depress the price of cotton. This interview was printed in a Birmingham

¹ "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine."

paper, and attracted a great deal of attention, especially on account of the sensational statement that "bankruptcy faces the South." This assertion, as any man of ordinary intelligence knows, is false; it is a Germanic defamation, very injurious to the South, and indirectly to the whole country, for which there is no sort of excuse. Coming from a German it is, of course, seasoned with the usual protestations of the pacificists; nor is it lacking in Germanic ideals and policies, as evidenced by an appeal to the immediate selfish interests. This friend of the South declares that, "this is no time to be pro-English or pro-German, but it is time to be pro-southern." These German opportunists never fail to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb."

This bombastic and theatrical interview regarding the cotton situation and general conditions in the South is about as unreliable and subtle as the usual German propaganda. It comes as a prelude to the marketing of the 1915 cotton crop. The same sort of agitation was started in the South during the autumn of 1914.

Within a few months after the beginning of the present war, the country was filled with alarming and pathetic stories from the South. A large portion of the South was represented to be in a state of distress and dependence. "Buy a bale of cotton," was the popular cry; it became a fad and for a little while there seemed to be

more concern about the alleged distress in the South than the actual distress in Belgium. According to newspaper reports, Wall Street formed a pool of \$100,000,000, to which the Southern bankers undertook to add \$35,000,000 as a credit fund to enable the South to carry the cotton which it could not sell. But it was all unnecessary, as shown in later developments. Of the \$135,000,000, only \$25,000 was loaned on cotton.

There is something mysterious and inconsistent regarding this so-called pool of \$135,000,000 for relief of the cotton producer. This is a considerable sum; at an average price of 8 cents per pound, or \$40 per bale, this fund would have taken care of 3,375,000 bales, or at the price of 10 cents per pound it would have provided for 2,700,000 bales. But no one seems to know anything definite about this pool; where, when, or by whom the alleged fund was subscribed or pledged.

Solely for the purpose of getting at the truth of the matter, the present writer addressed letters to leading financial institutions and commercial organizations of this country, making inquiry about this pool and its actual operations. A high official of one of the leading commercial associations of the United States makes the following statement:

"According to my information, at the suggestion of the

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Federal Reserve Board, the member banks subscribed a fund of \$135,000,000 to be advanced through Southern bankers to cotton owners. Of this fund about \$12,000,000 was applied for. When it became evident that only this small part of the fund would be required, the subscribers had returned to them the balance of their subscriptions, and there remained nothing further to do than handle the \$12,000,000 of loans made and distribute the proceeds of their liquidation as repayments were made."

The official from whose letter the above excerpt is taken further states, very properly, in the opinion of the present writer, that "it is apparent that the South has suffered almost entirely from low prices for cotton, and hardly at all from lack of a market."

A high official of another leading commercial institution of international reputation makes the following statement :

"While the writer has no knowledge of the subject, he has sought information from one of the largest banking institutions here and has been told that the proposed fund amounted in all probability to \$135,000 only, and that but \$18,000 was reported to have been subscribed."

Other commercial institutions, financial periodicals and leading newspapers have answered inquiries on this subject by referring to other financial institutions and periodicals. The investigation has not brought any satisfactory result, but the Comptroller of the Currency makes this statement :

"I beg leave to say that I am advised that the amount actually loaned on account of the \$100,000,000 cotton

pool, organized last winter for the purpose of assisting in carrying the cotton crop, was only \$18,000; and that was all placed in one county in Ala."

A letter from the Federal Reserve Board, Washington, in reply to an inquiry from an official of a prominent commercial association, contains the following :

"It is assumed that you refer to the so-called 'cotton pool' formed last winter, to which the total amount subscribed was \$100,000,000 and which amount was to be drawn on by the Committee in charge as the occasion might require. Only \$18,000 of the amount subscribed was used, and the undertaking was dissolved on February 1 last."

The patriotic undertaking of providing \$135,000,000 to save the South from bankruptcy, by assisting in carrying the cotton crop, has dwindled to the aggregate sum of \$18,000, all of which was used in one Alabama county. The whole story is so utterly ridiculous, so preposterous, that it looks very much like a part of German propaganda. It would be irrelevant and unwarranted to assert that the Federal Reserve Board, or any member of that Board, was party to the promulgation of any sort of official statement in the interest of German propaganda. The movement to raise fund of \$135,000,000 to assist the cotton producers was doubtless suggested by substantial bankers who were moved not only by sound business judgment, but also by patriotic purposes. But whatever noble purpose moved the

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promoters of this undertaking, the outstanding facts are that the public was misled, and the much-advertised undertaking was seized upon with avidity by active German propagandists, and used by them in the interest of Germany and for the purpose of arousing popular prejudice against Great Britain and France. A few pro-German politicians of the South slandered and humiliated the Southern people by advertising the cotton-producing section as impoverished and dependent, and the campaign to "buy a bale of cotton" was started for political purposes without much concern for the resultant injustice and great injury to the cotton producers. Then came the further political propaganda of exploiting the South by advertising that a great fund had been provided, *i.e.* \$135,000,000, for the purpose of assisting the cotton producers whom they had advertised as impecunious and helpless.

It is hardly probable that the whole truth regarding the cotton situation and the alleged pool of \$135,000,000 will ever be published. If it were possible to give the whole truth to the public, it would reveal some of the hidden springs of German political influence in America. German-Americans have had many years of profitable experience in exploiting the cotton producers. Their cunning eyes were quick to see an opportunity; the "buy a bale of cotton" \$135,000,000 pool to assist the South agitation was made a

part of German propaganda. These hyphenated Americans are always grovelling at the feet of the German Kaiser, and they are ready to serve him, without question as to method or in what capacity. They find their oath of allegiance to this country no obstacle to their plans, and they recognize no obligation to the people whose industry has made possible their success in various enterprises.

The *Wall Street Journal* makes this very interesting statement: "The British embargo on cotton did not prevent 'other Europe,' which includes the neutral countries of Scandinavia and Holland, from getting 1,349,897 bales of cotton in the ten months ended April, 1915, against 85,122 bales for the same period in the 1914 season, most of which undoubtedly found its way to German ports. The embargo has not prevented a total of 8,209,204 bales being shipped to date, against 8,953,870 for the same period a year ago." In other words, our export of cotton is only 744,666 bales short of exports for a corresponding period a year ago; and this in the face of a bumper crop of 16,000,000 bales and war in Europe before and during the whole period of marketing the crop. Either of these abnormal circumstances would make the foreign and domestic manufacturers chary and tardy in buying.

German and Austrian cotton mills have 16,095,481 spindles and Turkey has none; the

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cotton factories of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia and Japan (allies in the present war) have 87,597,306 spindles, of which Great Britain has 55,652,820. In 1913 the Allies used 11,141,952 bales, of which 5,758,996 bales were produced in America; during the same year Germany and Austria used 2,416,802 bales, of which 1,884,211 were shipped from America. The following table well illustrates the point at issue :

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON FOR YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1913

	Consumption in Actual Bales.			Estimated Number of Spinning Spindles.
	American.	Other Countries.	Total.	
Great Britain -	3,281,596	543,584	3,825,153	55,652,820
France -	787,594	199,088	986,682	7,400,000
Belgium -	171,010	86,368	257,378	1,492,258
Italy -	537,917	206,033	743,950	4,600,000
Russia -	376,886	1,564,876	1,941,762	9,212,557
Japan -	423,131	1,157,651	1,580,782	2,300,000
Canada -	107,361	456	107,817	855,293
India -	73,528	1,624,900	1,698,428	6,084,378
Total, Allies -	5,758,996	5,382,956	11,141,952	87,597,306
Germany -	1,258,507	321,230	1,579,737	11,186,023
Austria -	626,704	210,361	837,065	4,909,458
Total, Germany and Austria -	1,885,211	531,591	2,416,802	16,095,481 ¹

On July 31, 1914, the amount of American cotton in sight, the carry over from the old crop, was 1,691,808 bales; since that time to July 31, 1915, there have come into sight 15,450,214

¹ "Statesman's Year Book."

bales, making a total supply to August 1, 1915, of 17,142,022 bales. This period of cotton statistics, the beginning and end of the cotton year, July 31, 1914, to August 1, 1915, corresponds with the first year of the war, so that the whole story of the cotton market, and how it was affected by the war, may be found in the comparative statistics of crops and consumption for two years last past :

	1914-15.	1913-14.
In hand, July 31, 1914 - - -	1,691,808	1,332,140
Into sight to July 31, 1915 - -	15,450,214	14,854,445
Total supply - - -	17,142,022	16,186,585
Visible supply - - -	3,092,503	1,703,273
World's takings - - -	14,049,519	14,483,312
Percentage of supply - - -	82	80

The world's takings of American cotton for the year ending July 31, 1915, amounted to 82 per cent. of the total available supply ; and for the year immediately preceding, which ended before the outbreak of the war, the world took 80 per cent. of our available supply. During the year ending July 31, 1914, the world took all but 11 per cent. of our available supply, leaving us with a surplus of 18 per cent. Our exports of cotton for the year ending July 31, 1915, are only 730,500 less than for the preceding year. But the greater

hardship to the cotton producer was not in the larger surplus of his crop carried over to the next season ; it was the reduced price he received for the cotton actually marketed.

On December 1, 1912, the farm price for American cotton was 11·9, on December 1, 1913, it was 13·2, and on December 1, 1914, the price was 6·8. The average price for five years preceding the outbreak of the war was 12·75 and for a period of ten years, 1904 to 1914, the average price was 11·40. By comparison on this basis, therefore, it would seem that the loss of the producer on cotton marketed July 31, 1914, to August 1, 1915, was not less than \$280,000,000. Had the much-advertised \$135,000,000 fund been readily available for use of the cotton grower, it would have tided him over until the seas had been cleared of German commerce destroyers and his mind had been partially cleared of the confusion created by German propaganda allied with American political intrigue.

The lowest price to which American cotton has dropped during sixty years last past was at the time of the Spanish-American war, while Germany was supplying Spain with munitions of war and threatening the safety of commerce by preparation for an attack on the western world in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. It was during the year 1898, when the average price of cotton was less than five cents a pound ;

in 1897 the average price was 5.6 and in 1894 the average price was below six cents. During five years, 1893 to 1897, the average price was below seven cents. There was neither war nor rumour of war during this period of depression, but America was passing through a crisis of radical financial and industrial agitation which, under the leadership of a distinguished educator from Virginia, culminated in the Wilson Tariff Bill, and other experimental measures. The distressing results of the work of the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means were not limited to the cotton industry ; it reached every industry in America, and labour on the farm and in the mills paid the penalty of having untrained and inexperienced talent directing governmental affairs. Economic questions in American politics do not easily adjust themselves to academic theories under didactic direction. American cotton producers do not carry large bank reserves and they were not in a position to experiment with economic theories in 1894. Nor have they been in a position during the present war to experiment with the novel process of trying to apply ethical standards to Germanic policies. The cotton producer and all other patriotic Americans are more concerned about protecting the American flag and the lives of American citizens than new experiments in economic policies or sociological questions. Conniving at German propaganda for

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the purpose of controlling German-American votes, and a timid foreign policy for the purpose of conciliating a Government of barbarians, does not appeal to American patriots.

An Alabama newspaper published an interview with a member of Congress from that State from which the following is taken :

" An interesting feature of his interview deals with Sir Charles Macara, president of the Spinners' Association. I know him personally, said the Congressman, and I know that he has always opposed measures which would work in beneficent manner to the cotton producers. . . .

" I understand that Germany, where American cotton is now worth 31 cents a pound, wished to buy a considerable amount of American cotton and store it in the warehouses in the United States."

The newspapers published a cable from Berlin, dated August 31, 1915, in these words : " German business men have transmitted to the United States an offer to buy 1,000,000 bales of cotton. The price offered was fifteen cents a pound, payable on delivery of the cotton in a German harbour." This interesting news came about four weeks after an Alabama Congressman had asserted in a public speech that cotton was selling for thirty-one cents a pound in Germany.

A director of the sixth district regional bank wrote a letter to Mr. W. P. G. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, in which he said :

" Answering your inquiry in regard to the federal reserve bank of Atlanta, the gold reserve of this bank is able to take

care of about \$20,000,000 of cotton or other loans. In addition to this, the Treasury Department at Washington will deposit, if necessary, \$10,000,000. This, with the federal reserve notes, would enable the reserve bank of Atlanta to lend about \$52,000,000. The above is without any reference whatever to re-discounts with other federal reserve banks. If necessary, the federal reserve bank of Atlanta can re-discount with other reserve banks up to \$50,000,000, which would make the total loanable funds of the federal reserve bank of Atlanta about \$100,000,000. The bank is therefore able to take care of all applications for agricultural loans that are properly secured and could possibly be offered in the Sixth district."

The writer of the above quoted letter is the federal reserve director residing at Birmingham who, a few weeks before writing this letter, gave out an alarming interview in which he asserted that New England and Old England mills were in a conspiracy against the South, and that the South "faced bankruptcy."

In view of the virulence of German propaganda and the many false assertions made by these propagandists, not only for the purpose of creating prejudice against Great Britain, but also for the sinister purpose of embarrassing American commerce, it is unfortunate that a member of Congress or a director of a federal reserve bank should be led into such egregious errors, especially when he speaks as one with authority and the average citizen accepts his assertions without further investigation.

Again quoting from the *Wall Street Journal*,

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the following statement throws more light on the cotton situation :

" Last year, when the conditions were worse, the South raised such a hue and cry that the Federal Reserve Board had to devise a \$133,000,000 cotton pool to save the situation. But \$10,000 in loans was the extent of the activities of the pool.

" The federal reserve banks of Richmond, Atlanta and Dallas were conspicuous as showing the largest earnings of the twelve institutions at the close of the past fiscal year, which earnings were derived almost entirely from re-discounting."

There is a good deal about the cotton business in connection with our export trade which has not been explained to the public. German propaganda and the rather exacting terms of some of the bankers in the cotton producing section suggest interesting points of inquiry.

The intimation that Germany " wishes to buy a considerable amount of cotton " is part of German propaganda, in line with the assertions of *The Chicago Tribune* correspondent already quoted in this chapter. There has been a good supply of American cotton on the market, and Germany has had ample opportunity to buy several million bales at a very low price. The first suggestion of the German propagandist was that England interfered with Germany's plans to make large purchases of American cotton ; the later suggestion was that the legislatures of the several cotton-producing states should provide for the building and supervision of public warehouses,

so that Germany would have some suitable place for storing the large purchases of cotton which she proposed to make. When we consider Germany's financial resources, especially by comparison with the financial resources of the Allies, it is, of course, quite patent that Germany could easily step in and "gobble up" the cotton crop. A condition precedent, however, is that the cotton-producing states shall build warehouses. The utter absurdity of this recent phase of German propaganda is too apparent to demand serious consideration from anyone of ordinary intelligence. Unfortunately, however, a very large portion of the American cotton crop is produced by the labour of people who know very little about international trade or politics, very little about industrial and financial matters, and not very much about German history and practices. These tenants and labourers are American citizens, and quite a number are voters. The suggestion that Germany "wishes to buy a considerable amount of American cotton" and store it in the warehouses of the United States, coupled with the very artful statement that American cotton "is now worth thirty-one cents a pound in Germany," makes an impression on the ignorant cotton producer.

These politicians, who manifest so much alarm about England's possible aggressions and hasten to warn their constituents against what they

claim is evidence of Great Britain's greed, have not said anything about Germany's actual commercial war against the United States, her interference with our domestic affairs, her disregard of the Monroe Doctrine, and her attempt to form a coalition against the United States. They have not told how considerate the Allies have been ; how cautious, not only in matters relating to the property and lives of American citizens, but also how solicitous they have been in all questions which affected American sensibilities, national customs or pride. Nor 'ave these pro-German agitators called attention to the fact that the German Government has arrested and imprisoned men and women who were American citizens, and against whom no crimes had been charged ; destroyed the property of American citizens ; repeatedly fired on the American flag ; and on more than one occasion murdered American citizens who were guilty of no crime and had given no offence to the German Government. And attention has not been called to the fact that neither of the Allies has fired on the American flag, sunk an American vessel, nor killed an American citizen.

These agitators, who so faithfully serve the German Government, have not told the poor labourers of the South who produce the cotton that approximately 4,000 bales of American cotton are required every day to supply the great

munition factories of Germany, and that every man killed or wounded by the Germans is a victim of American cotton. Nor have the German propagandists explained to the cotton producers that the *Lusitania* was sunk with explosives manufactured from American cotton, and that more than 100 American citizens lost their lives in the sinking of that ship.

The story of German espionage in America, the ramifications of which have reached every department of the Federal Government and every industry, trade and profession of American citizens, has not been told by the pro-German agitators. The seditious talk and publications, and the traitorous plans and undertakings of the German-Americans, have not only struck at the life of the Republic, but has also sought to cripple the business and industries of American citizens. No class of producers in America has suffered more than the cotton producers from the artifices of the German propagandist. "American cotton-planters, proprietors of the greatest gold-producing staple in the world, are poor. They are in practical servitude. It is a tragedy of contemporary life that they who produce for the world the commodity without which modern civilization and industrial life could not proceed are themselves absolutely subservient and the poorest-paid toilers in the United States. Intellectually the cotton-growers are surrounded and coerced by factors which

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have no other purpose than to keep them in this benighted vassalage."¹

From a report to the Comptroller of the Currency of June 23, 1915, it appears that there are five national banks in Alabama whose maximum rates of interest average 26 per cent., the rate in one case being 60 per cent. and in another 34 per cent.

In Arkansas one national bank admitted making a loan at a rate as high as 120 per cent., another one at 50 per cent., another at 60 per cent., and another at 25 per cent. In Georgia there were eleven banks where the average maximum rate was about 30 per cent. The maximum rate charged by one was 40 per cent., and the average was 15 per cent. In Texas a number of banks reported rates in excess of 100 per cent.²

While publishing to the world that a vast fund of \$135,000,000 had been provided for the purpose of loans to the cotton producers, the loan sharks were allowed to continue their mercenary practices under a charter from the Federal Government. These bloodsuckers were taking the very life-blood of the cotton producer, and, after they had exhausted their victims, it was ascertained that the so-called cotton pool was never available for the legitimate use of the cotton producer, and not exceeding \$18,000 of this alleged fund was

¹ Daniel J. Sully—*The Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

² W. P. G. Harding, of Federal Reserve Board.

ever advanced to the cotton growers. But the propaganda against England was continued, and the cotton producer was led to believe that his woes were all the result of Great Britain's interference with the export of cotton. Meanwhile the packers were busily engaged in trying to mislead public opinion. The artifices of the packers were pretty well known to the American people; divers corrupt and illegal practices of the packers had been exposed, and their methods had not won the confidence or respect of the American people. There is ample warrant for the general impression that the packers had very intimate relations with representatives of the German Government. Statements contained in Ambassador Dumba's letter to the Austrian Foreign Minister support the general charge that the packers undertook to send consignments of food stuffs through neutral countries to Germany. These cargoes were seized three months after the British proclamation of contraband. No one in America, acquainted with the business and social relations of a large number of the Chicago packers, has ever doubted that the condemned cargoes were destined for the use of the German army and that their real destination was not a neutral country. Conscious of their own guilt, the packers, pending a decision of the English prize court, tried very hard to befog the real question at issue before the prize court. According

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to press reports from Washington, the packers "were contemplating a boycott of Great Britain if they could not obtain relief otherwise." And it was "even suggested that a day be set apart and that the Governors of cotton States and the heads of live-stock associations and cotton-growers organizations appear here *en masse* to demand an extra session of Congress."

While the cotton agitation was going on and the sordid money-mongers, operating under a national bank charter, were fleecing the cotton producers, our Secretary of State was enjoying the opportunities of the State Department as an advertising medium for his lectures. During many years Mr. Bryan had exploited the democratic party as a sort of lyceum bureau, and when called to the high office of Secretary of State he continued his lecture engagements. After serving for two years, during the most critical period of this country's foreign relations, Mr. Bryan resigned his place in the Cabinet and immediately began an active campaign among a lot of seditious pro-German agitators who called themselves "friends of peace" and various other misleading, incongruous and factional names. Mr. Bryan professed grave concern about the horrors of war in Europe; but he manifested no interest in the poor farmers who were fleeced by his political followers; nor did he show perturbation over the sad stories of the Americans who were mur-

dered in Mexico, the American women who were assaulted in Germany, and the men, women and children of America who were murdered by pirates on the high seas.

The purport of the pacifist and pro-German propaganda in America was that, while patiently and meekly submitting to German espionage, insults and indignities, and the murder of American citizens, we should, against our present interest and future welfare, fly in the face of a well-known principle of law affirmed by our Supreme Court, in order to serve the enemies of Great Britain and the seditious citizens of America. And in considering this question we should not forget that a peculiar social and political situation has practically secured the vote of the cotton producers to the political party which Mr. Bryan has so long exploited; nor should we be unmindful of the fact that the German-American vote fluctuates more violently and demands more "watchful waiting." In the meantime the cotton grower must be exploited in order to sustain the Anglo-phobia agitators. These financial exploitations and political intrigues are a part of the story of our own times, and they will mark the most humiliating events in an unhappy epoch of American history.

The situation, so far as the present attitude of the Allies is concerned, has been clearly and forcibly presented by Lord Robert Cecil, Parlia-

mentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the course of a formal interview, defining the British Government's attitude :

" The Allies must by all lawful means prevent cotton reaching their enemies. It may be considered necessary to make cotton contraband.

" The British Government, acting in conjunction with its Allies, is giving the cotton situation its continuous and most earnest consideration. The Government is fully aware of the importance of cotton to America. We fully understand that upon a satisfactory adjustment of the matter depends to a considerable degree the welfare of nearly a quarter of the population of the United States. The welfare of the whole population of Great Britain, however, also is involved, as well as that of all Great Britain's Allies, for whom the British Government is acting in these and other matters concerning contraband and trade.

" The fundamentals of the situation are quite clear. The Allies must by all lawful means prevent cotton reaching their enemies. That is a vital military necessity, which all the world will recognize. At the same time an equally important consideration must be given to a great cotton-producing country like America and to consuming countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Holland. A policy must be devised which will respect the legitimate rights of neutrals and yet safeguard the legitimate interests of the Allies and inflict as much damage as possible upon our enemies.

" Cotton has not yet been declared contraband, but under our blockade all cotton which is believed to be destined for Germany is stopped. It may be considered necessary to make cotton contraband. There is a demand in the allied countries that this should be done. There is assuredly ample justification for the action if it is deemed necessary.

" Cotton is a very important, an essential ingredient in fact, of propulsion explosives. Copper is contraband by all the laws of the nations, and yet in the present war cotton has

been shown to be more important than copper. There may be a substitute for copper in making munitions of war. For cotton there is no known substitute. If American cotton goes through to Germany, the Germans use it to kill allied soldiers. Therefore, cotton must not go to Germany."

The low price of cotton, at the beginning of the present war, can be accounted for, in a large measure, by the fact that several German commerce destroyers were on the high seas. So soon as these German cruisers were sunk or driven into neutral ports by the British navy, the price of cotton advanced; it was the British sea power that enabled the South to market its cotton. If Germany were in control of the seas, we know what she would do; we would not be able to sell any cotton to her enemies. The allied nations take nearly three-fourths of our export cotton; Germany and Austria not more than one-fourth. If a producer had two customers and circumstances arose which necessitated his losing one of the customers, he would naturally prefer retaining the larger customer, especially when the larger customer had more capital and was in a position to protect the traffic. The Allies have more capital and are able to protect their commerce; Germany's finances are in bad shape and growing worse every day, and neither Germany nor Austria has a flag on the Atlantic. If the exigencies of war make it necessary for the cotton producers to decide which customer they prefer, they ought

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to be able to decide without the counsel of German propagandists.

Cotton is the basis of high explosives. The torpedo that sunk the *Lusitania* was charged with guncotton manufactured from American cotton, and the bombs dropped from the Zeppelins were produced from the same substance. Germany needs approximately 4,000 bales a day for the manufacture of munitions of war, exclusive of small-arms ammunition and that needed by the navy. Had the shipment of cotton to Germany been stopped at the beginning of the war, Germany would have been seriously embarrassed in providing munitions of war.

Authentic reports indicate that German cotton mills are shutting down, and it is estimated that the manufacture of cotton goods is at a standstill. All the cotton smuggled through the neutral countries is sent to the Krupps and other manufacturers of munitions.

The agitation in favour of extreme measures on the part of this Government is part of the German propaganda against England, and the men and newspapers who started it are more interested in stopping the shipment of arms and munitions to the Allies than in facilitating the shipment of cotton to Germany and Austria. These propagandists are doing the South more harm than it could suffer through a low price of cotton.

CHAPTER XII

MEDDLING IN AMERICAN POLITICS

ANOTHER phase of German propaganda has been the wide distribution of letters and advertising matter advising that trade and commerce in Germany continued in normal conditions notwithstanding the war, and soliciting orders from American customers. Still another, in line with the absurd representations about the purchase of cotton, has been personal letters stating that a large amount of German capital was seeking investments in this country. But the climax of German impudence and bumptiousness came when German-American Leagues undertook to dictate candidates, control political conventions and primaries, and, by a system of boycotting and bluffing, intrigue and corrupt practices, German propagandism has undertaken to control the election of national, state and municipal officials.

In a hot campaign for United States Senator from Illinois, in October, 1914, Roger Sullivan was the democratic nominee. He was supported by the German-American League, and in the campaign literature of that League it was stated that "all of us know he has always been a friend

of the Germans ; his most intimate friends are Germans ; his daughter is married to a sturdy young German ; several times he has visited Germany, and he admires the German nation and its people. He is also an honorary member of several German organizations."

The pressure was too strong for the democratic administration to withstand. Mr. William F. McCombs, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, came to Chicago and spoke from the same platform with two leading German lawyers of Chicago, at the largest Sullivan meeting held during the campaign. Chairman McCombs stated that he spoke with authority, and he told the inside story of the Baltimore Convention. He said that Mr. Wilson owed his nomination to Roger Sullivan, and that Sullivan made Woodrow Wilson President of the United States. He further said that "Roger Sullivan is perhaps the biggest and strongest figure in your entire commonwealth."

The plain every-day Americans of Illinois answered the plea of the German-American League and the admonitions of Chairman McCombs. The answer was positive and vociferous ; it plainly indicated that the people had been surfeited with German propaganda, that they did not want a man with Roger Sullivan's record in the United States Senate, notwithstanding the fact that he admired the German nation, had made Mr. Wilson President, and, in Mr. McComb's opinion, was "the biggest

and strongest figure in the entire commonwealth."

Again, in the municipal campaign, in March, 1915, the Germans were aggressive and impertinent. Their candidate, Mr. Sweitzer, won by a large majority over Mayor Harrison in the democratic primary. The German newspapers referred to Mr. Sweitzer as the German candidate for mayor. Circulars were distributed broadcast showing likenesses of the Kaiser and Francis Joseph of Austria, and appealing to the Germans to vote for Sweitzer and thereby aid the German army in its war against the Allies. Just how a vote for Sweitzer would aid the German soldier was never made quite clear, but it was part of the German propaganda which has been so rampant in the northwestern part of the country. In fact, Mr. Sweitzer was of Irish descent, but had legitimately taken a German name, but the German propagandists ignored the true conditions and misled many into the support of their adopted candidate.

"As to the German-American aspect, the evidence is not conclusive, although it is dramatic. A circular put out just before the election said: 'Chicago has a larger German population than any city in the world, excepting Berlin and Vienna, and the German, Austrian and Hungarian-Americans should, at this coming election, set aside every other consideration and vote as a unit for Robert M. Sweitzer. Stand shoulder to shoulder in this election as our countrymen in the trenches and on the high seas are fighting for the preservation of our dear Fatherland. The election of a German-American would

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be a fitting answer to the defamers of the Fatherland and cause a tremendous moral effect throughout the United States and re-echo in Germany, Austria and Hungary.'

'A similar circular was printed in German. The English edition contained the names of leading politicians, such as Peter Reinberg, President of the County Board.'

Mr. Thompson, the republican candidate for mayor, had the support of only one paper in Chicago. The Germans undertook to bluff and bulldoze this paper by sending it notice that, unless it supported Mr. Sweitzer, it would not get a line of advertising. The bluff did not work with the paper, nor did it work with the people of Chicago, although the betting odds were in favour of the German candidate the night before the election.

The republican candidate had over six times as many votes in the general election as he had in the primary. "Never has Chicago seen a victory like unto it. The younger Harrison won the mayoralty in 1897 by 79,000. Thompson smashed this high-water mark on the men's vote alone. With the women his plurality was 139,622. That 139,622 is larger than McKinley's plurality in Chicago. It is larger than Roosevelt's 110,000 in 1904."¹ This was not a victory for Thompson, nor a defeat for Sweitzer. Neither was well known nor very popular. Neither had been active in

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, April 24, 1915.

² *Chicago Evening Post*.

political life. It was a victory for democratic principles and Americanism ; a defeat for imperialism and autocracy injected into American politics—an uprising of the American people in the city of Chicago in protest against the doctrines and methods of German propaganda.

While the defeat of Sweitzer and election of Thompson was a victory of the American spirit over German propaganda in Chicago at that time, it was not so complete a victory as the election returns at first indicated. It is hard for any man holding public office, or seeking office, in Chicago, to escape the influence of Germanism ; very few have the temerity to express opinions and support policies which are not endorsed by the German-Americans. Defeat at the ballot-box does not discourage Germans in American politics. They frequently win public officials who have defeated them in elections. They are tireless and subtle. One of the unfailing signs of German influence, and one of the first since the beginning of the present war, is opposition to shipment of war supplies from America to the Allies. This is the confession of faith which the Germans demand, and it is usually attended with platitudes on the peace movement. There is hardly a public man in Illinois who has escaped this Germanic influence.

Germanic policies are fully comprehended by the American people, and they have been repudiated and condemned whenever and wherever

the people have been given an opportunity to express their judgment. The evidence of this feeling is found in the voice of the American people as expressed at the ballot-box, in the stronghold of German influence and the nursery of Germanic propaganda, where the issues have been clearly defined. The present national administration ought to have seen the handwriting and it ought to have found a Daniel who could read the writing and "make known the interpretation thereof"; not so much in the interest of the democratic party, but in the interest of democratic institutions in America and all parts of the world. The success of the democratic party is of little moment; the conservation of democracy is of vital moment to the American people. The doctrine of Bernhardt and the propaganda of the Kaiser have no place in American politics; the policies of Washington and the practices of Lincoln are dear to the hearts of the American people. This country ought not to be Prussianized; it will not be if the voice of the people can be heard.

Some of our American meat-packers have been very active in London and Washington in their rather aggressive agitation for a speedier handling of cargoes detained by the British Government. Their threat, as reported in the newspapers at one time, to place an embargo on shipments of meat to Great Britain, did not perturb the British

Government very much. According to the *Wall Street Journal*:

"As for cutting off the Argentine supplies, the packers, who are now trying to hustle the United States Government, do not realize that the British Government, to say nothing of Argentina, can make their monopoly look like a discarded beef can. They are operating in Argentina, for the most part under British incorporation. They are subject to Argentina for taxation and regulation of exports—a country which is, to put it mildly, not in complete accord with the influences of the brewery and packing districts of the Middle West, suspected of having fostered this agitation.

"But this meat industry was telling us only a few weeks ago that the supply of the product was so small that they were compelled, with tears in their eyes, to advance prices. This does not fit in with the complaint of delayed cargoes. Is it the idea to 'soak' the ever patient American consumer with the prices realizable in a country like Germany, virtually in a state of siege?"

The unfriendliness of the packers to the British Government, who was our friend during the Spanish-American war, is not quite so wicked as the crime of furnishing the American soldiers with "embalmed beef." It was during the Spanish-American war that our soldiers were furnished with meats treated with chemicals and of canned roast beef unfit for use; at that time Great Britain was engaged in the more honourable business of blocking the German fleet in its projected raid on the South-American coast. Had it not been for the protection of British diplomacy and British warships, the American packers would

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not have a very extensive foreign trade. They are now showing their gratitude to England according to the same code they have used in dealing with their American consumers, which is decidedly Germanic.

And while we are talking about the American packers it may be interesting to note that, while their representatives were in Washington trying to embarrass the administration, in urging more vigorous action in their complaint against Great Britain, a United States grand jury returned indictments against two of the largest meat-packing concerns charging rebating on shipments of meat and other products from the stockyards, and "with shipping a large quantity of cold-storage eggs of ancient vintage to Detroit in violation of the pure-food laws."

A news item from London, June 21, contains a report of the "hearing in the cases of the four Scandinavian ships carrying meat cargoes from the United States." Solicitor-General Smith made a statement to the court, from which the following :

"It was impossible to resist the inference that the goods in question were intended by the shippers to be forwarded into Germany and that they had resorted to every artifice to conceal the destination and deceive the belligerents."

"A special dispatch" to *The New York Evening Post* from Washington, July 15, contained the following :

"What of our relations to England? The question inevitably suggests itself anew because of the reappearance yesterday of representatives of the meat packers at the State Department, to protest more vigorously and bitterly than when they were here a month ago against the treatment to which they have been subjected. This time they would not deny, as they did in June, that they were contemplating a boycott of Great Britain if they could not obtain relief otherwise.

"Moreover, it is rumoured that the packers are to be followed by still more impressive delegations of cotton and copper producers and merchants, with a view to compelling this Government to act aggressively and to put an end to what is called the blockade of the United States by Great Britain. It is even suggested that a day be set apart and that the Governors of cotton States and the heads of live-stock associations and cotton-growers' organizations appear here *en masse* to demand an extra session of Congress, and it is interesting to learn that this suggestion emanates from Members of Congress."

Similar reports have appeared in the leading newspapers, usually about the time this country is expected to dispatch an important note to Great Britain or Germany. This is one of the political phases of German propaganda, and it has been very aggressive. It is not true, however, that "this suggestion emanates from Members of Congress." It emanates from German-American Leagues; hyphenated Americans who have put their votes and influence on the market. And the German market for votes fluctuates and is very active at times; there are bulls and bears, and trading has been very lively during the present war. In the Middle West there are politicians

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in the two leading political parties who are bidding pretty high for German votes, showing about as little regard for the sanctity of the elective franchise and the higher ideals of Americanism as the average German propagandist. German influence is not so strong in the South, and the seditious agitators have been able to capture only a few sensational and turbulent leaders. But those who have taken up the cause of Germanism against civilization are very aggressive and virulent ; their practices are not only a menace to the industrial prosperity of the South, but also a menace to American institutions.

The story of German propagandism in America and German-Americans' agitation against the best interests of this country are not limited to the events of the present war. They are a part of American history. During many years German-American Leagues have been well organized and have systematically taken advantage of every opportunity to embarrass this country in its foreign relations, and especially when international questions demanded wise and delicate treatment by our State Department and the sober and patriotic support of the Government by the people. If these hyphenated Americans have any respect for American institutions, or any patriotic interest in the country of which they are citizens, they fail to show such feeling and interest when the country needs their support.

CHAPTER XIII

GERMAN DOCTRINE AND METHODS NOT SUITED TO UNITED STATES

A VERY interesting article was published in *The Outlook* of August 22, 1914, under the title of "Germany Interpreted by a German-American." The editors of *The Outlook* said : " The following article comes to us from the pen of an American citizen of German parentage, an alumnus of a well-known eastern preparatory school and a distinguished graduate of Harvard University." Among other very frank and interesting admissions in that article the following is quite pertinent :

" There are, of course, potent though superficial reasons for this general dislike of the German. The average German, whom the foreigner sees, is aggressive, self-assertive, loud in his manner and talk, inconsiderate, petty, pompous, dictatorial, without humour, in a word, bumptious.

" He has, in many cases, exceedingly bad table manners and an almost gross enjoyment of his food ; and he talks about his ailments and his underwear. His attitude towards women, moreover, is likely to be over-gallant if he knows them a little and not too well, and discourteous or even insolent if he is married to them or does not know them at all. He is at his worst at the time when he is most on exhibition, when on his travels or helping other people to travel, as ticket-chopper or custom official."

This is a graphic picture of the "chosen people of God"; "the greatest civilized people known to history," as Bernhardi has said. We have at least one German-American who understands the situation, and has the frankness to tell the truth in very plain language.

The frequent effusions and outbursts of self adulation from the Kaiser, the words and deeds of his representatives in this country, the German Ambassador, the learned *savants* from the German Universities, and the agents and hirelings of the beer trust have, unwittingly perhaps, testified to the truth of the charges made by the German-American writer in *The Outlook*.

German professors and German-Americans have frequently asserted that Americans do not understand Germany because they "cannot think like Germans." In a private letter written only a few weeks before his death, the late Charles Francis Adams commented upon the assertion in these words :

"Suspecting this in my own case, I have of late confined my reading on this topic almost exclusively to German sources. I have been taking a course in Nietzsche and Treitschke, as also in the German 'Denkschrift,' illumined by excerpts from the German papers in this country and the official utterances of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. The result has been most disastrous. It has utterly destroyed my capacity for judicial consideration. I can only say that, if what I find in those sources is the capacity to think Germanically, I would rather cease thinking at all. It is the absolute negation of

everything which has in the past tended to the elevation of mankind, and the installation in place thereof of a system of thorough dishonesty, emphasized by brutal stupidity. There is a low cunning about it, too, which is to me in the last degree repulsive."

German propaganda has disturbed the peace of the world and the result is the present war of nations. Aside from her ally, Austria, Germany has not one friend among the civilized nations of the world. There is not a language in the world to-day outside of the Teutonic language that speaks the praise of Germany. The Monroe Doctrine is a vital question of American policy to-day, and it is opposed to German absolutism and to the present policy of German expansion.

These hyphenated Americans and German propagandists have tried to embroil this country in a war with Japan, hoping to force us into the European war on the German side. During many years there has been a well-organized plan to create prejudice in America against the Slavic races, for the purpose of involving America in trouble with Russia which, as a matter of course, would be to Germany's advantage. A war between the United States and Russia would have given Germany the opportunity she desired ; she could have selected either belligerent as an ally. Propaganda against Russia and the Slavic races has had its baneful influence, and, while there is no deep-seated prejudice against Russia, there is

a great deal of misinformation and ignorance which are dangerous. Here, then, by comparison with Germany, it may be interesting to note a few striking facts in the history of Russia and the Slavic peoples.

"Perhaps the greatest single act of any ruler in all history was that of Tsar Alexander II. in freeing the 50,000,000 serfs of Russia in 1851. Not only did he release more than half the people of his empire from bondage, but he also bought 350,000,000 acres of land from the landowners and turned it over to the villages, to be held as communal property and to be paid for by the villages in instalments running fifty years. This act of Alexander, taken so shortly before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, makes our freeing of the negro look small in comparison."¹

Every student of history is familiar with many interesting stories of events in the life of Peter the Great, but here is a beautiful story of the heroic act that caused the death of that remarkable man :

"Peter had been confined to the house for some days with a high fever, and one afternoon, in spite of the protest of his physician, went for a walk along the Neva. Seeing a woman and child who were attempting to cross the river on the young ice break through and in danger of drowning, without a moment's hesitation he plunged into the water to their rescue and saved both. But the chill was so serious that it aggravated his complaint and caused his immediate death."¹

The International Peace Conference which assembled at The Hague in 1899 was in response

¹ *The National Geographic Magazine*, November, 1914, Gilbert H. Grosvenor.

to an invitation addressed by the present Emperor of Russia, Nicholas II., to the principal States of the civilized world. The purpose of the conference was to establish concerted action for the maintenance of general peace and the amelioration of the hardships of war and possible reduction of armaments.

The Tsar of Russia issued an imperial ukase prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Russian Empire. The city of Chicago is under German influence and is the stronghold of German propagandism in America. There is a law in the state of Illinois which the Supreme Court expressly decided to be in force in Chicago, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The German beer gardens and grog shops remain open on Sunday and continue their lawless business with impunity.

In the early history of our struggles for national existence, the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga was one of the most important victories won by the American revolutionists, and it was the strategic work of a Polish patriot. The fortifications at West Point were constructed under the direction of this Polish patriot, who was made adjutant to General Washington. We are told by Bancroft: "Among his latest official acts, Washington interceded with Congress on behalf of Kosciusko, pleading for him 'his merit and services from the concurrent testimony of all who

knew him'; and Congress accordingly granted to the Polish exile, who was to become dear to many nations, the brevet commission of brigadier-general."

It was at the request of Benjamin Franklin that Pulaski came to this country to assist the American patriots in the war against the Germanic King of England and his German mercenaries. Pulaski served as a volunteer, and for his gallantry at the Battle of Brandywine was appointed Chief of Dragoons, with the rank of brigadier-general. He commanded Pulaski's Legion, and was killed while leading the French and American forces at the siege of Savannah. Franklin had previously warned the American colonists against the German immigrants, but he induced a Polish patriot to come to America and fight for the cause of human liberty against German autocracy.

The racial history of the Slavic races in the Balkan States can be traced for fifteen hundred years. These people established great empires. It was the Slavic stock that saved Germany from Ottoman conquest, and it is the Slavic stock which has now joined with England to save Belgium and France from German conquest. When the Turks conquered Hungary and besieged Vienna they were finally repulsed by the Slavic race. "It was the Serb Bakich who saved Vienna," says a Hungarian historian. Sobieski, John III., with 20,000 Polish troops,

saved Vienna, and prevented the Ottomans from ravaging Central Europe. The Turkish forces were overwhelmingly defeated and driven back. Sobieski was the hero of Christendom and he was one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his age. He was received by acclaim by the Viennese, but Emperor Leopold showed strange ingratitude in his treatment of the deliverer and of the Polish army. Ingratitude has been one of the prominent features of the Hapsburg family record. It is one of the ironies of history that the Turks, who were driven back from Central Europe by the Slavic races, should now be the protégés and allies of the Austrians and Germans who were saved from the Turks by the Slavs. Serbia is fighting for national existence and Turkey has joined with Austria and Germany to destroy the people who saved Europe three hundred years ago.

"History will record it to the honour of the Serbians that they were the first to summon the combined courage and strength to rise against the Sultan. In 1804 Kara George, the swineherd, led them in successful revolt. The Turks regained control in 1813; but at last, in 1830, after many years of determined fighting, the Serbians, strongly supported by Russia, achieved political autonomy, though still remaining tributary to the Sultan. The Greeks were the next to respond in arms to the call of the national spirit, and they actually attained complete independence before Serbia. The Greek War of Independence, from 1821 to 1829, ran a course of varied fortune, in which, at the end, the courage of the little nation, aided by the moral and material encouragement of the greater Powers, succeeded in casting off the foreign yoke.

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The negotiations and interventions succeeding this war finally resulted in conflict between Russia and Turkey. In the end Greek independence was firmly guaranteed, and the European possessions and power of the Sultan suffered severe shrinkage. Through the intercession of Russia the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia became practically independent. From these events and their accompanying animosities and ambitions came another Russo-Turkish struggle in 1853, which led directly to the Crimean war.

"In all these years of strife the spirit and freedom of the separate Balkan States persisted and increased through crime and turmoil, surviving every check of their own or other's making. Each upheaval and each readjustment brought to some one of them greater independence, and, usually, to all of them greater discontent and ambition. Out of the Crimean war emerged the semi-independent state of Roumania; the result of national consciousness and ambition awakened among the kindred peoples of the two adjoining states, Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1862 these united under one ruler and assumed the name Roumania. After a few years of civil strife they chose as king a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns. In the early years of his reign King Charles developed a vigorous and liberal policy in the affairs of his country; and especially he achieved important results in the organization of his army, with Prussian equipment and under Prussian instruction. His success in this largely contributed to the influential position which Roumania has since held in Balkan affairs. It is important to remember this German element in the person of the ruler, and in military affairs, when appraising Roumania's relations with her neighbours."¹

Representatives of "more than 3,000,000 Slavs vigorously condemned the interference of Ambassador Dumba with American affairs." At the

¹ "The World in the Crucible," Sir G. Parker.

meeting of these representatives held in the city of Chicago, September 11-12, 1915, specific charges were made against representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government in America, alleging an attempt, successful in some cases, to subsidize Croatian newspapers, foment strikes, and other lawless demonstrations in America. And this assembly adopted the following patriotic resolutions :

" We condemn the sympathies with the belligerents carried to such an extreme as to supersede and interfere with the welfare of the American people, as treason committed against the country to which all naturalized citizens swore unswerving loyalty after they had gladly and freely renounced allegiance to all the potentates of Europe."

" We hereby declare ourselves loyal and true to our sworn duties as American citizens in all emergencies, regardless of any consideration whatsoever, and as loyal citizens of this country endorse the action of our Government in asking Ambassador Dumba's recall, and that we pledge our unlimited support to the United States Government in its effort to punish the offenders against American neutrality."

If any German-American society has passed such resolutions of loyalty to America, they have not been published in the leading newspapers.

Every branch of the Slavic race is well represented in this country, and, in the present crisis, they have demeaned themselves peaceably, with a quiet dignity and unselfish patriotism which has won the respect of the American people. Those who could return to their fatherland have

gone back to fight for it; those who could not return have remained here and gone about their business, doing what they could to help the needy and unfortunate in their native country. Unlike the German-Americans, they have not found it necessary to make public demonstrations, or to annoy their neighbours with a spectacular display of hyphenated patriotism and vulgar bombast.

The Serbians, or Serbs, and all European branches of the Slavic race, have been intensely patriotic and made their place in the history of civilization by defending their homes and their government. For many generations they have stood on the eastern frontiers of Europe, defending Western civilization against the inroads of the Turks. While the petty states of Germany held their subjects in serfdom, engaged in barbaric and fratricidal strife among themselves, pliant tools of the Holy Roman Empire, the Slavic races of the Balkan States were bravely serving on the outposts of civilization. Sobieski, Kosciusko, and Kossuth have brighter and more memorable places in history than Bahrddt, Metternich and Nietzsche. Tolstoy was worth more to civilization and the cause of humanity than Bernhardt, and he will be remembered long after Bernhardt has been forgotten.

The German Emperor has referred to the Huns as ancestors of his people. The Huns were Tartars, and after they overran Central Europe,

little was heard of them subsequent to the death of Attila. They were defeated by the Franks on the borderland of the Germans, and then "assimilated themselves to the population of their environments." This tainted blood of the German rulers has been observed not only in the Hohenzollern dynasty, but also in other ruling families of the German States who have intermarried with reigning families of other nations. German kings of England, the Hanover dynasty, prior to the reign of Victoria, were reactionary and corrupt.

Neither the Austro-Hungarian, nor the German Empire, represents anything in its civic or political code which appeals to the ideals of the American people. The House of Hapsburg has been a most persistent and merciless enemy of republican institutions. Its history, for seven centuries, has been a tragic story of continuing and aggressive warfare against political liberty and civic uplift of the people; it has fought every reform and every democratic movement in Europe since the twelfth century. The history of the Hohenzollern family has been but little better than the Hapsburg.

Further evidence of German vandalism is furnished by Major-General von Disfurth, a distinguished retired officer of the German Army, who contributed an article to the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, November, 1914, in the course of which he said:

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"No object whatever is served by taking any notice of the accusations of barbarity levelled against Germany by their foreign critics. Frankly, we are and must be barbarians. We owe no explanation to anyone. Every act of whatever nature committed by our troops for the purpose of discouraging, defeating and destroying our enemies is a brave act, a good deed and is fully justified.

"It is of no consequence whatever if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world be destroyed if, by their destruction, we promote Germany's victory over the enemies who have vowed her complete annihilation."

During the Civil War in America, the "War of Rebellion," as it is generally designated in American histories, when the Confederate forces invaded Pennsylvania, at Chambersburg, General Lee issued his famous "General Order No. 73" from "Head-quarters Army of Northern Virginia," from which the following is an excerpt:

"The duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity are not less obligatory in the country of the enemy than in our own. . . . It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemies and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth, without whose favour and support our efforts must all prove in vain. . . . The Commanding-General, therefore, earnestly exhorts the troops to abstain, with most scrupulous care, from unnecessary or wanton injury to private property, and enjoins upon all officers to arrest and bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject."

The following is an excerpt from "Special

Orders, No. 110," issued by General Grant from "Head-quarters Department of the Tennessee, Miliken's Bend, Louisiana, April 20, 1863":

"Wanton destruction of property, taking of articles useless for military purposes, insulting citizens, going into and searching houses without proper orders from division commanders, are positively prohibited. All such irregularities must be summarily punished."¹

And the following beautiful story further illustrates the character of General Grant:

"On the 22nd or 23rd I received dispatches from Washington saying that Sherman had taken Kingston, crossed the Etowah river and was advancing into Georgia.

"I was seated at the time on the porch of a fine plantation house waiting for Burnside's corps to pass. Meade and his staff, besides my own staff, were with me. The lady of the house, a Mrs. Tyler, and an elderly lady, were present. Burnside, seeing us, came up on the porch, his big spurs and sabre rattling as he walked. He touched his hat politely to the ladies, and remarked that he supposed they had never seen so many 'live Yankees' before in their lives. The elderly lady spoke up promptly, saying, 'Oh yes, I have; many more.' 'Where?' said Burnside. 'In Richmond.' Prisoners, of course, was understood.

"I read my dispatch aloud when it was received. This threw the younger lady into tears. I found the information she had received (and I suppose it was the information generally in circulation in the South) was that Lee was driving us from the State in the most demoralized condition, and that in the South-West our troops were but little better than prisoners of war. Seeing our troops moving south was ocular proof that part of her information was incorrect, and she asked me if my news from Sherman was true. I assured her that there

¹ "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant."

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was no doubt about it. I left a guard to protect the house from intrusion until the troops should have all passed, and assured her that if her husband was in hiding she could bring him in and he should be protected also. But I presume he was in the Confederate army." ¹

Recalling the Kaiser's impertinence in speaking of his enemies, especially his remark about "General French's contemptible little army," it may be interesting to compare the words of General Grant in speaking of the enemy whom he was fighting :

"The Confederates fought with courage at Shiloh, but the particular skill claimed I could not and still cannot see ; though there is nothing to criticize except the claims put forward for it since. But the Confederate claimants for superiority in strategy, superiority in generalship and superiority in dash and prowess are not so unjust to the Union troops engaged at Shiloh as are many Northern writers. The troops on both sides were Americans, and united they need not fear any foreign foe. It is possible that the Southern man started in with a little more dash than his Northern brother ; but he was correspondingly less enduring." ¹

The difference between American liberty and German kultur is the difference between Abraham Lincoln and the Kaiser ; the difference between civilization and barbarism may be found by comparing the war between the States in America with the practices of the German Army in the War of Nations. One can hardly conceive it possible for a commander in the German Army

¹ "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant."

to demean himself with the humanity and gallantry of Grant or Lee. Indeed, German history has no parallel to these splendid types of manhood and chivalry. Grant and Lee represented the highest types of American manhood, and each came from old English stock.

The war in America was the culmination of more than twenty years of political and sectional strife, and bitter animosities prevailed on both sides. The war in Belgium was not preceded by any manifestations of racial or national enmities ; it came suddenly as the work of a strong military Power seeking conquest and domination over a small State whose neutrality it had agreed to protect. The difference in the orders issued by the commanders of the belligerent forces in the American Civil War and the orders issued by the commanders of the German Army in Belgium and France is the difference between American civilization and German vandalism. And the world will examine the record and decide which is the better for mankind.

Our policy of " watchful waiting " during the course of German brutalities in Belgium and France, and on the high seas, and German insolence and sedition in America, has been an insult to the memory of Lincoln, Grant, Lee, and other great Americans in the crucible of our history ; and it has been not only a menace to the peace and dignity of America but a travesty upon the

work of Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, and other great founders of American democracy. Unmindful of our debt to civilization, and heedless of our own welfare, we have disregarded the most sacred obligations imposed upon a sovereign State deriving its "just powers from the consent of the governed."

This war is a wilful and premeditated attack on democratic institutions of the most highly cultivated races in every part of the world. Germany has been flaunting her military for a generation and, all along, she has been arrogant and bumptious; it has been offensive and dangerous, and civilization has grown tired of the strain. Austria is archaic and effete. The hope of civilization is that this mighty struggle will end in the annihilation of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties, and that the unfortunate subjects of those autocracies will be able to establish something in the form of a constitutional government by the people.

The present world-wide war is a mighty convulsion in political and social science, a struggle between mediævalism and modern civilization. In the end, civilization, with its modern concept of higher social and political ideals, will triumph. The conflict involves fundamental issues vital to the American people, and we shall not be able to escape its permanent influence on our national life. It is a crisis that calls for intense feeling,

not only in our sympathy for the peoples involved in actual hostilities but also in our great concern about what may happen to us. Enlightened public opinion in the United States, when associated with virile appreciation of democratic principles, is in full sympathy with the Allies.

America has no prejudice against the Germans, who are far advanced in education, industrial development and commercial expansion; but their present civilization is essentially material and, from our point of view, it is lacking in that ethical culture which develops a proper appreciation of the higher ideals of American institutions.

We have in this country good people from every civilized race and nation in the world. Our country has been a cave of Adullam for the poor and oppressed of all races. Among other good citizens of foreign birth, we have some worthy and useful men and women from Germany. We have no prejudice against these citizens of German lineage, but we cannot be good Americans and remain silent in the face of this appalling crisis. The neutrality of this nation need not suppress the noblest impulses of its citizens.

There has been no manifestation of prejudice against the German people in this country. They are thrifty and progressive, their educational development, their industrial and commercial expansion and their efficiency in administration are

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fully appreciated. But the people of the German Empire are the subjects of a bigoted autocrat who has no respect for treaty obligations, the law of nations, or any other legal or moral obligation which stands in the way of his aggressive militarism. We have sincere sympathy for the Germans in this country who have kin and friends in the German Army, but we have little charity for those who call themselves American citizens while they support the dogmas and practices of the German Government. Those who cannot support the American Government, who cannot be faithful, in words and deeds, to our institutions, should return to their native country. The doctrine of the German Emperor of to-day expresses the faith and policies of Mohammed the Great; in fact, the language of the Kaiser is substantially the words of that mighty Sultan of six hundred years ago.

A people who accept and offer their lives in defence of such dangerous doctrines cannot be highly civilized. But it is the shibboleth of the German Army, and it is not surprising that an army fighting in such a campaign, and under such leadership, should be easily provoked to frenzy, perpetrating the most revolting cruelties. No American, to the manner born, who retains a spark of virile patriotism could give aid or sympathy to a people or nation supporting so pernicious a doctrine as the Kaiser has promulgated. Nor

can any good American, with any degree of self-respect, listen to the advocates of a dogma which strikes at the very foundation of American institutions. German arrogance and militarism have no place in modern civilization; the "blood and iron policy" is no less offensive to our social institutions than to our liberties. Dollars and guns, which have been so extensively advertised as German policy, supported by Hohenzollern fanaticism, do not appeal to the highest ideals of the American people.

If any one doubts the dogmatic superstition and dangerous policies of the present head of the Hohenzollern family, let him read these words, spoken by the Kaiser to his soldiers: "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword and His vice-regent. Woe to the disobedient, death to the cowards and unbelievers." Is this the dogma of the German people, the shibboleth of the German Army? We must so regard it because it is the dictum of German lordship and we find it written in blood where the German Army has invaded Belgium. No true American could support this doctrine; if he be faithful to democratic institutions, he cannot be pro-German. Nor can there be any conscientious neutrality where the issue is so clearly defined.

God has appointed no vice-regent in this country,

nor do we believe that we are the chosen people of God. Charity is God's vice-regent ; truth, virtue, and liberty are His only weapons in this country. The sword will be placed in the hand of no man except by the will of the people. In the most troublous period of this nation's history there came from the people a Christ-like man who published and practised the doctrine of " malice toward none, with charity for all." In the life of that illustrious man this nation found a " new birth of freedom " and a resolve, " that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The vice-regent of God who sacked Louvain and pirated the *Lusitania* will find no place in the hearts of the people who revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

The declarations of the Kaiser may be the dogma of the German war party. They do not represent the thought or sentiment of Kant, the great philosopher whose " fidelity to human freedom has never been questioned and never can be." " The rights of man," he said, " are dear to God, are the apple of the eye of God on the earth." And the words of the Kaiser are not the thoughts of Lessing, who said : " The chief of a commonwealth, governing a free people by their free choice, has a halo that never surrounded a king." And Herder said, " The boldest, most godlike thoughts of the human mind, the most beautiful and greatest works, have been perfected in

republics; not only in antiquity, but in the modern and more modern times, the best history, the best philosophy of humanity and government, is always republican; and the republic exerts its influence, not by direct intervention, but mediately by its mere existence." Klopstock "beheld in the American war the inspiration of humanity and the dawn of an approaching great day." Goethe, Germany's greatest writer and one of the greatest of the world, "classed the Boston tea-party of 1773 among the prodigious events which stamped themselves most deeply on his mind in childhood." He wished the Americans success, and "the names of Franklin and Washington shone and sparkled in his heaven of politics and war." The absolutism and coarseness and brutality of the German Kaiser find no support in the teachings of the truly great men of Germany.

In *The New York Times* of May 25, 1915, Poultney Bigelow wrote:

"Prussians have never founded a colony, have never impressed their language or customs in any part of the world. They have flourished in the United States under the shelter of British institutions from the days of Queen Anne to those of Washington; and they have since then shared with all the world access to the Western wilderness and unrestricted opportunity to spread their own language anywhere between the Alleghanies and the Golden Gate. Historically and ethnologically there is nothing to the Prussian as a world power save his ox-like docility in the furrow and the loyalty with which he fills the ranks of the Prussian Army. And

pray note that officers of the Prussian Army form an aristocratic body wholly separate in blood and tradition from the Prussian peasants whom they command.

"The land of the pagan Prussians was conquered, held, and kulturized for centuries by a small band of specially licensed crusaders, whose descendants now hold most of the land and nearly all the military and administrative posts in that feudal country. The Prussian people have never tasted self-government; they know but two classes, the conquerors and the conquered. This explains why Prussia has customs—but no manners. She has mannerisms which in Prussia pass for politeness, but they are painful in a real drawing-room. And this is why no such thing as a club has yet existed in Prussia. I mean a club like the Century or Union of New York; the Athenæum or Carlton of London, St. Botolph or Tavern of Boston. A club implies a civilization, and civilization implies that members refrain from insulting one another in the room of a social organization. Civilized society also implies social equality, at least while in the same drawing-room or at the same club table. All these concepts are foreign to the Prussian traditions.

"In my day there was an attempt at a real club in Berlin, but as the aristocracy is almost wholly military the premises looked more like an officers' mess than the resort of wit and wisdom. The diplomatic corps was eligible, but they soon wearied of it because when an officer entered the room every one of less rank had to stand up and remain at 'attention' until permitted to resume—his conversation.

"The Prussian has not yet emerged from his pristine barbarism, where the Jerusalem crusaders discovered him in the fourteenth century and where their Potsdam descendants have held him in submission from that day on.

"The world conquerors have been people whose rule has been for many reasons acceptable—Romans, Greeks, Persians, Mohammedans. Finally, the English have conquered and ruled mainly through the respect, if not love, which their persons and institutions have excited."

CHAPTER XIV

KAISERISM OR CONSTITUTION

THE scene of the present struggle in Western Europe was a great battlefield in a conflict between the Belgians and French ancestors and the Huns, under the leadership of Attila, "the scourge of God." And there are several points of striking similarity, not only in the location of the conflict, but also in the avowed purpose and in the cruel practices of the invading vandals. There is an impressive and pathetic similarity in the vandalism of "the scourge of God" 1,500 years ago, and the vice-regent and weapon of God to-day. Removed from the present environment of civilization, the vice-regent of God is the twin brother of the "scourge of God." A common Tartar ancestry seems evident and the anthropologist could easily trace the House of Hohenzollern back to the most distinguished king of the Huns.

The armed propagandism of the German Emperor is a menace to the peace of the world: a threat against democratic principles of government in all parts of the world. Against this propaganda of divine right, with all its consequent ills, the

English-speaking people have been fighting since the time of Cromwell. The eloquence of Patrick Henry, the Statute for Religious Freedom, and the Declaration of Independence were all directed against this doctrine. It is a relic of mediævalism, ignorance, superstition and serfdom, and its last vestige of respectability vanished with the passing of the Holy Roman Empire. Among many other good things which the French Revolution did for the cause of humanity was the complete annihilation of the Holy Roman Empire. The last effort to revive that obsolete dogmatism was a few weeks after Waterloo, when the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia were at Paris. Alexander of Russia "spent entire days at Paris, to the exclusion of all other business, in mystical communication of sentiments with Madame de Krudener," a pietist. Madame de Krudener was converted to the teachings of the Moravians. At Königsberg, in 1807, Queen Louise of Prussia fell under her influence. She was intimately associated with Jung-Stilling; the students in the Universities of Germany came under her influence and she was the most prominent apostle of Pietism. The result of the influence of that dissolute fanatic was the Treaty of the Holy Alliance. The answer of the liberty-loving English-speaking peoples, supported by Great Britain, was the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine is a fundamental part of

American policy and it is opposed to the present method of German expansion.

At the beginning of the present war, the Imperial German Chancellor stated that their troops had advanced into Belgian territory and "the injustice we thereby committed we shall rectify as soon as our military object is achieved." The German Emperor later declared that "Belgium, which interfered with our attack, has been added to the glorious provinces of Germany." The Machiavelian policies of Bismarck are well represented by the Imperial Chancellor; the brigandage of Frederick the Great has again added to the "glorious provinces of Germany."

It has been forty-four years since France was humiliated and plundered by Germany and Germany's bitterness and enmity towards the victim of her intrigue and insatiable rapacity has not abated. It has been only ten years since Japan and Russia were at war; to-day there is no apparent bitterness between these two Powers and they are the common allies of five of the most advanced nations of the world. Our war with Spain deprived that proud nation of its richest possessions, but there is no bitterness nor enmity between the United States and Spain. German writers sneer at us and say that our policy with Cuba and China has been weak. In the opinion of other civilized nations our policies in these matters have evidenced a national

consciousness which has exalted us in world position.

The situation in Europe has been very clearly and prophetically stated by Winston Churchill in these words :

" Now the impact is on us. Our blood which flows in your veins should lead you to expect that we shall be stubborn enough to bear the impact. But if we go down and are swept in ruin into the past, you are the next.

" This war is for us a war of honour, of respect for obligations into which we have entered, and of loyalty towards friends in desperate need. But now that it is begun, it has become a war of self-preservation. The British democracy, with its limited monarchy, its ancient parliament, its ardent social and philanthropic systems, is engaged for good or for ill in a deadly grapple with the formidable might of Prussian autocratic rule."

The power of absolutism in Germany has been very frankly stated by Prince Bülow, late Chancellor of the German Empire. " I must lay down most emphatically that the prerogative of the Emperor's personal initiative must not be curtailed, and will not be curtailed, by any Chancellor." Or, again, danger of the Tartar Peril may be found in the declaration of the German Kaiser: " Only one is master of this country. That is I. Who opposes me, I shall crush to pieces. . . . *Sic volo, sic jubeo*. . . . We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone, and to God alone we are responsible in the fulfilment of duty. *Suprema lex regis voluntas*."

After reading these autocratic effusions from the Kaiser, the American citizen should read the following from Abraham Lincoln :

" It is the eternal struggles between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time ; and they will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself."

The Kaiser declares that his will is the supreme law ; in America we have been taught that the welfare of the people is the supreme law. No patriotic American citizen can be in sympathy with the doctrines of the German Emperor and the policies of his Government ; an American citizen who upholds the Kaiser is a traitor and will prove himself an enemy of democracy when the opportunity offers.

In 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, in violation of the Treaty of Berlin, and an outrage upon the feelings of the people of that country. The assassination of the Archduke and his wife at Sarajevo was by an Austrian subject in Austrian territory. Austria's ultimatum to Serbia demanded an answer within thirty-six hours. Regarding this ultimatum, Sir Edward Grey said that he " had never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character."

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"But what of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia? Prussia has been throughout her history, as her greatest publicist, Professor Hans Delbruck, has phrased it, a *Kriegsstaat*. Her history is all military history. In reading it we miss the story of the glorious conflicts for the people's right to share in the government. There are no Runnymede barons, no Simon de Montforts, no Oliver Cromwells, no Abraham Lincolns, in the history of Prussia. Slowly, but with a grim and terrible certainty, the iron hand of the Prussian war lord has brought the German nation exactly to the position to which King George III. attempted to bring England and the American colonies. In Germany the Teutonic idea is dead. A mixed race, more Slavonic than Teutonic, the Prussian, has deprived the German people of their birthright. There, as Professor Cramb strikingly phrases it, 'Corsica . . . has conquered Galilee.' The ideals of Prussia remain to-day just what they were in the days of the Great Elector—ideals of absolute monarchy—and the German Empire has accepted them."¹

The military object of Germany's invasion of Belgium has been "achieved" and Germany's national obligation has been thrown away as "a scrap of paper." Belgium has preserved her honour and safeguarded her long established character for courage and patriotism. Germany has temporarily triumphed and the brave Belgians have paid the penalty of their unfortunate position beside an assassin, but there will come a day of reckoning when this cruel war is over. Belgium will live again, honoured and respected, and the name of Belgium will be the synonym of truth

¹ Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Outlook*.

and honour in all parts of the world. History will measure the responsibility for all the suffering, sorrow, and humiliation of Belgium, and on the escutcheon of Germany there will be a bar sinister which neither the Krupp guns nor the materialism of Nietzsche will be able to efface. The indefensible attack on Serbia has added to the infamous record of the Hapsburgs, the cowardly and inhuman invasion of Belgium has added to the infamous record of the Hohenzollerns, and the world is restless awaiting the destruction of these monstrous dynasties.

History teaches us that the greatness of a nation is not in its population, the extent of its territory, its wealth, nor its military power. "Greatness is of the soul, not of the body"; it is the spiritual life, not the evidence of things material. There is such a thing as national conscience, and the ethics and humanity of a nation are full of potentialities in its political and industrial life. There is no administrative machinery, no court for enforcing the law of nations, and until we make further progress in the federation of nations, we must rely upon the fundamental principles of justice and honour, supported by enlightened public opinion. The injustice and inhumanity, and the lawless cupidity of individuals, generally escape punishment by the courts, but the condemnation of public opinion is frequently more effective as punitive justice, and a more wholesome

deterrent than rigid enforcement of the written law. And history further teaches us that nations also are frequently and severely punished by this moral force of public opinion; there is such a thing as retributive justice in the unwritten law of nations. The highest evidence of the moral progress of a nation and the cultured standard of its people is found not only in a keen regard for its treaty obligations, but also in an equal regard for human rights and justice.

This is a war in the interest of imperialism and for the extension of territory. We cannot disregard the responsibilities of the situation, nor will we be able to escape its general effect. Our government was instituted on the broad, democratic principle "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." We believe that we have established the wisdom and administrative efficiency of our principle of government, and that we have shown, by experience and practical demonstration, that it is possible for all civilized white races to live together in peace, under democratic institutions and a common republican form of government. Indeed, under the necessities of our situation, we have undertaken to show

that the operation of our principle and form of government need not be limited to the white races. This expansion of our theory to include all races is yet in an experimental stage, but the principle and policy have been supported by many of our ablest statesmen and we have sacrificed many valuable lives and great treasure in order to write the expansion of this principle into our organic law. We have taken these fundamental principles of government to Cuba and the Philippine Islands and we are trying to establish them in Mexico. If our theories are not correct and cannot be maintained on a stable basis, our government is a monumental failure. As a nation we must defend the great principles upon which our government is founded; if we still have faith in a republican form of government, we cannot be neutral in our sympathies. There can be no assimilation of German Kaiserism with American Constitutionalism.

Our sympathy with the Allies is evidence of our faith in democratic institutions and our desire to encourage and support every effort to establish and maintain a republican form of government. German absolutism and militarism are a menace to the principles which our fathers proclaimed at Philadelphia and defended at Bunker's Hill and Cowpens. We believe in democracy; in the rights of men. Bernhardt says, "There never have been, and never will be, universal rights of men."

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England, France and Belgium are fighting the battles of democracy and civilization, against German doctrines and German policies. When our fathers established this government, they abrogated the obsolete doctrine of divine right and the methods of the absolutist, and in place of these despotic measures which had so long oppressed mankind, they set up the sovereign citizen.

"The principle of the sovereignty of the people, which is always to be found, more or less, at the bottom of almost all human institutions, generally remains there concealed from view.

"In America the principle of the sovereignty of the people is not either barren or concealed, as it is with some nations; it is recognized by the customs and proclaimed by the laws; it spreads freely, and arrives without impediment at its most remote consequences."¹

"The influence over government must be shared by all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe."

"In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all."²

"The golden ages of the world were the ages of democracy and oratory; and the most brilliant pages of every country's history were written when the voice of free discussion was heard in the land. No people ever reached a high development among whom this voice was not heard; and every people that strangled it soon sank into degradation and misery."³

¹ De Tocqueville.

² Thomas Jefferson.

³ John P. Altgeld.

"Measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans. . . . Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it." These are the words quoted from Benjamin Franklin in a previous chapter of this book ; and they are as well suited to the German-American propagandist of to-day as they were to the Germans of our colonial period, when Franklin was so much perturbed by their servility and bumptiousness. And these offensive and dangerous phases of German character are not limited to the ignorant and vicious ; they are common to all classes of German propagandists. "A German-American's Confession of Faith," by Kuno Francke, has been extensively advertised as the highest conception of the most splendid type of the German-American. And of this book it has been said that, "when the history of the war in all its ramifications comes to be written, this record will prove a significant document."

Undoubtedly, Prof. Francke's "confession of faith" will "prove a significant document." It will prove that the criticisms of Franklin may as well be directed against Prof. Francke as against any other hyphenated American agitator with seditious leanings. Here are a few excerpts from this book :

"Seldom has an individual been so perfect an embodiment of a national movement as Emperor William II. is of this new

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Germany. . . . Emperor William is the most intense and the most ardent champion of personal rule that has arisen since Napoleon.

"I fully believe in the righteousness of the German cause in the present world conflict, and I shall avail myself of every opportunity, as I have done before, to express publicly my fervent hope that Germany and her Austro-Hungarian ally will remain victorious. . . . My sympathies, therefore, in this war are wholly and fervently on the German side."

No man can be a true American whose sympathies are "wholly and fervently on the German side." It is impossible to reconcile devotion to the German Emperor with loyalty to America. In this case the truth of Christ's declaration is evident. "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other." The one to which Prof. Francke will hold is plainly indicated, as shown by further excerpts from his confession of faith:

"France, unwilling to forget her national humiliation, unequivocally refuses to acknowledge the settlement of 1870 as final, incessantly preparing for the day of revenge.

"I hope that the United States will exert its full influence to prevent at the coming peace conference any infringement upon the territorial integrity of Germany and her colonies.

"In the interest of a lasting peace, therefore, America must support the demand that in the coming peace treaty the integrity of the German Empire be respected."

Here, then, we have the confession of the typical German-American. He is still a German in his deep-seated prejudice against France, a

country that his people pillaged forty-four years ago and have frequently threatened to crush. This hyphenated American has forgotten his oath of allegiance; he thinks only of Germany. He would involve this country in the European crisis wholly in the interest of Germany. Not a word about what would be for the best interest of this country or humanity; but contrary to the long-established policy of this country, not to be entangled in European affairs which did not directly concern us, he would have us interfere solely for the purpose of using our influence to prevent any "infringement upon the territorial integrity of Germany and her colonies."

German colonies have been disposed of by the Allies, and that is a matter that does not concern the United States. This country will not voluntarily be a party to any adjustment of German territorial integrity, but if it should be drawn into the settlement of questions involving territorial sovereignty, the people of this country will have something to say about our national policy, and it will not be on the side of the vandals who ravaged Belgium and the pirates who sunk the *Lusitania*.

The American Tories were not very highly esteemed before, during or after the American Revolution. They were loyal to Great Britain, and that was not considered quite the proper thing by those who had taken up arms against

Great Britain. The position of the Tories preceding the American Revolution was more tenable and ethical than the present attitude of the German-American propagandists. The Tories acknowledged their allegiance to King George, and they were loyal to him, refusing to renounce their allegiance. The German-Americans have voluntarily renounced their allegiance to the German Emperor, and they have voluntarily sworn allegiance to this country. But they continue to express their sympathy for the Kaiser and his cause; they continue to do all in their power in the interest of Germany, and they are not very scrupulous about the means they use to further their traitorous plans. Their propaganda has been directed against the lives and property of American citizens and the sovereignty of the Government. In his "History of the American People," Woodrow Wilson says:

"The bitterest words of the great Washington himself were uttered against the Tories. Even with his splendid moderation and poise of mind, he could not find it in his heart to forgive the men who had seemed to fill every countryside his army entered with intrigue and threat of treason to the cause he had given his life to."

CHAPTER XV

INDIGNITIES TO AMERICANS AND VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY

THE history of Germany, so far as it relates to America, is a story of aggressive warfare against democratic institutions, American policies and commerce. From the beginning of the arbitrary and reactionary policies of the Germanic King of England, the employment of German mercenaries to subjugate our colonial fathers, down to the sailing of Huerta on a German cruiser only ten days before the outbreak of the present war, it is one continuous story of Germany's unfriendliness to America. At the outbreak of the present war American citizens travelling in Germany were treated with great indignities; in many cases men and women were arrested and imprisoned, insulted and subjected to great hardships. Accredited representatives of the German Government in this country, including the German Ambassador, have treated the American people with contempt and the American Government with indignity; they have disregarded our neutrality and violated the obligations imposed by the law and usages of civilized nations.

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A German officer or ex-officer, while enjoying our hospitality and the protection of our flag, attempted from the American side to dynamite a Canadian bridge.

A German consul with his secretary was arrested in this country on a charge of attempting to bribe an employe of a construction company. German-Americans have been convicted of a conspiracy against the United States by obtaining false American passports ; and they were charged with operating a bureau for this purpose.

Five Germans were indicted in New York for conspiring to defraud the United States by making and filing false manifests, in that they had not declared \$50,000 worth of rubber which they had concealed in 275 barrels of resin, and thirty tons of rubber which they had done up in bales of cotton waste. The rubber was intended for Germany. The evidence in possession of the Government, as explained by the District Attorney, showed that "the conspiracy was hatched last November in Germany with the idea of carrying on a secret traffic in contraband rubber between this country and Germany. Four of the five indicted parties pleaded guilty, and were let off with a light fine of \$500 each.

According to the confessions of Robert Rosenthal, under arrest in London, Capt. von Prieger, of the German Admiralty Office, who is head of the German spy system at Berlin, has a perfect

equipment for manufacturing fraudulent American passports. Rosenthal's confession was made to the military authorities in London. "There is little doubt that Hans Lody (the spy who was shot in the Tower) had a passport obtained from Capt. von Prieger's agency. Rosenthal himself was equipped with an emergency passport issued in Berlin." He claimed that he was an American citizen travelling in Europe assisting the American relief committees. American passports were kept in Berlin in large quantities, and these were evidently prepared before the outbreak of the war.

A German steamer at San Juan, Porto Rico, was refused clearance papers, and "the captain was warned six different times that his departure would be prevented, forcibly if necessary. Notwithstanding these warnings, the steamer attempted to leave the harbour and was compelled to put back after being fired upon." An American vessel, the *William P. Frye*, flying the American flag, was sunk by the German cruiser, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*. In the opinion of leading authorities on international law, the sinking of this ship was an unmitigated act of piracy. As expressed by so eminent a lawyer and publicist as Frederick R. Coudert: "On Germany's own showing, therefore, the destruction of this vessel was utterly without warrant of law, and it is inconceivable that the act of the captain could be justified by the German

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Government." The German cruiser guilty of this act of piracy finally steamed into Hampton Roads, where her captain was received as a guest of the nation and treated with great honours; after the usual German bluster and bombast, his vessel was interned. A little later another converted German cruiser arrived at Newport News; the captain worked the Press Bureau for a few days, received the congratulations of a lot of hyphenated Americans, indulged in the usual German bravado, and then interned. Incidentally it may be stated, there were a few English cruisers reported off the Virginia coast. Had there been an undefended English coast near by, where women and children were engaged in the domestic pursuits of peace, these German cruisers would have seized the opportunity for adding to the "glorious achievements of the German navy."

The Scoop, Chicago Press Club magazine, prints a picture of American citizens taken on the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*:

"This photograph was made on the main deck of S.M.S. *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, interned German warship tied up at the dock of the Portsmouth Navy Yard near Portsmouth, Virginia, and was taken by Harry Wilkinson, editor of the *Chicago Banker*, Wednesday, May 5. It includes Governor L. B. Hanna of North Dakota and members of his official party that presented the State's silver service to the U.S.S. *North Dakota*."

The Collector of Customs at Norfolk, Virginia,

and First Officer of the *Eitel* were also included in this photograph. For many years we have been talking about increasing our merchant marine, yet prominent American citizens visit this pirate ship and have their pictures made on the deck of a vessel that sunk an American merchantman. Had these American citizens and Government officials forgotten the story of the German Admiral Diedrich's bluff that had to be called at Manila? Five German warships were sent to Manila to annoy Admiral Dewey, and they did annoy him. German officers visited the Spanish troops and outposts, German boats took soundings, German seamen occupied a lighthouse, and the German men-of-war cruised about and in and out of the Bay, and finally the Germans landed men for drill and took possession of the quarantine station, and made themselves about as officious and bumptious as only Germans can do. No American with any patriotism or feeling of natural pride could be lacking in appreciation of the splendid record of Admiral Dewey at Manila. When Prince Henry of Germany visited this country, Admiral Dewey was the most distinguished representative of the American Navy, as well as one of the most respected and beloved citizens. As stated in an article by Poultney Bigelow, quoted in a previous chapter, "Admiral Dewey conspicuously absented himself from the welcoming committee," on the occasion of Prince Henry's visit.

The photograph of American citizens, including State and Federal officials, on the main deck of the pirate cruiser that sunk an American merchant vessel, has been published in a Chicago magazine. It should now be published in a new edition of the spelling-book containing the beautiful tributes to the Kaiser. Over that picture should be printed these words: "We are too proud to fight," and under the picture these familiar lines:

"Oh, say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

The British passenger steamer *Falaba* was sunk by a German submarine, and an American citizen was drowned. The *Falaba* was "a defenceless, unarmed, unoffending vessel, carrying passengers; it was torpedoed in broad daylight by a German submarine at a distance of 100 yards. The submarine sent a torpedo through the struggling people already in the sea, and the resultant shock caused occupants of other boats to be thrown into the water. Not the least effort to save lives was made by the crew of the submarine, the members of which stood jeering at the struggling people in the sea." This is the testimony of the officers of the *Falaba*.

An American vessel, the *Cushing*, was attacked by a German aeroplane. The biplane was within 300 feet of the vessel when it dropped the bombs. "The words United 'States of America' were

painted on each side of the vessel in letters eight feet long, and the Stars and Stripes were at the masthead and the taffrail." This is the testimony of the captain of the *Cushing*.

The *Gulflight*, an American vessel, was torpedoed by a German submarine, and two American citizens lost their lives. The *Gulflight* was flying the American flag, and every precaution had been taken to identify the ship as American.

The propaganda of the Austrian Embassy has not been quite so prominent as the German. Ambassador Dumba has been regarded as a very astute diplomat and something of a shrewd politician, very subtle and adroit in his practices. His activities have not been so coarse and conspicuous as those of the German Embassy, but his intriguing has been quite as dangerous and disrespectful to this country. Austria's first appearance in the open in American affairs was on June 29, when our relations with Germany were strained to the breaking point in the matter of our protest on account of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The Austro-Hungarian Government protested against the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to the Allies. Our answer to that note was clear, forcible and illuminating. Attention was called to the "practice of nations, so well illustrated by the practice of Austria-Hungary and Germany during the South African War," and the fact that these

countries, particularly Germany, "during the years preceding the present European War, produced a great surplus of arms and ammunition which they sold throughout the world, and especially to belligerents."

The intrigues of the Austrian Ambassador finally culminated in the exposure following the discovery of his letters to the Austrian Government found in the possession of James F. J. Archibald, an American correspondent travelling with an American passport. Archibald was temporarily detained by the British naval authorities at Falmouth, and among his papers were found letters from Ambassador Dumba, of Austria, and the German military attaché in Washington.

Ambassador Dumba's fatal letter was addressed to the Austrian Foreign Minister in Vienna, and explained how munition factories in America could be damaged or shut down by fomenting strikes among the Austrian and German workmen. Dr. Dumba's letter contained the following :

"It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which, in the opinion of the German Military Attaché, is of great importance and amply outweighs the expenditure of money involved."

The Ambassador admitted that he had employed Archibald, an American citizen, travelling under an American passport, as a secret bearer of official dispatches to his Government. The United

States informed the Austro-Hungarian Government that "Dr. Dumba is no longer acceptable to the Government of the United States as the ambassador."

Before leaving America, Dr. Dumba addressed a letter to Secretary of State Lansing, in which he undertook to defend his conduct and, from his point of view, explain the attitude of his Government in its relations with America. According to the practice first established in America by the German Embassy, Ambassador Dumba's letter was intended for use as German propaganda and was prematurely published in New York.

With the letter from Dr. Dumba found in the possession of Mr. Archibald there were also letters from Captain von Papen, the German military attaché at Washington. In one of these letters Captain von Papen refers to the American people in these words: "I always say to these idiotic Yankees that they had better hold their tongues." Coincident with the effort of her ally's Ambassador to destroy munition factories in America, it is not surprising to find Germany's military attaché in America writing insolent words about the people of this country. These things are cumulative evidence of Germany's espionage and intrigues in her settled policy of monopolizing the world's market for arms and munitions.

Disrespectful reference to the American people by a representative of Germany in America need

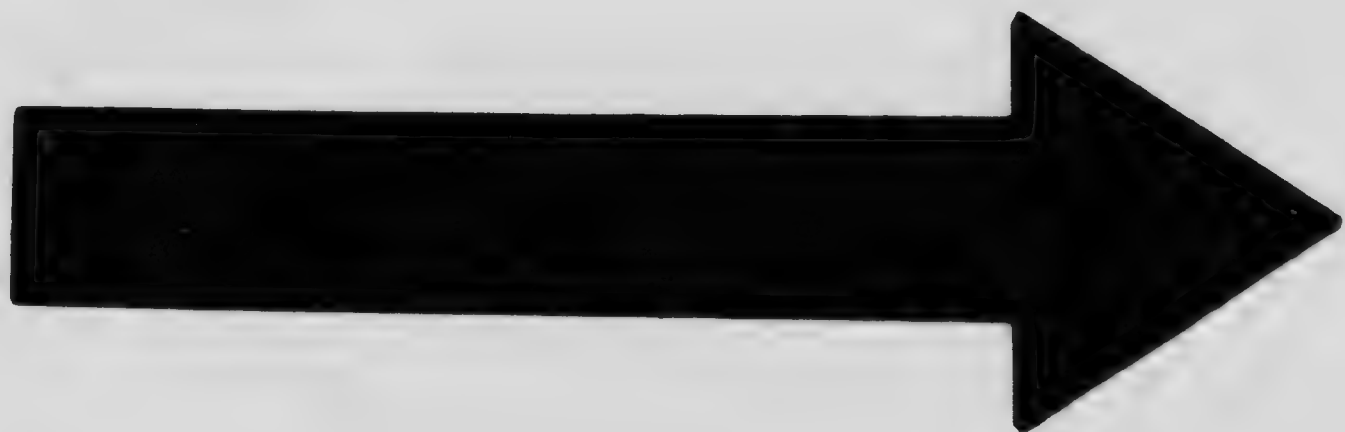
not surprise anyone. In our relations with Germany we have not conducted our affairs in a way to command the respect of this nation of cunning barbarians who have never accepted any code of international morality and have respect for nothing except physical force. Nor has the present Administration won the confidence and respect of the American people. We are very boastful of our democratic institutions and republican form of government. We have the republican form but the substance of democracy has been absent under the present Administration.

During this period of the greatest crisis in the history of civilization the American Cabinet has been the weakest in the history of this country. We have had not only untrained and inexperienced Cabinet officials but the few admirers whom the President has taken into his confidence have been his personal friends who were unknown to the people, without official position and lacking in experience and training, utterly incapable of the statesmanship essential for proper consideration of the important questions brought to their attention. And the public has not been informed regarding the policies of the Government in matters relating to our foreign affairs. This great nation has been driven along by a current of events over which it has had no control ; and the people have known nothing about their own affairs except such second hand and superficial

information as Administration favourites were willing to give out. And this information changed with every wind. The continuing question with the American people is : What will the President do ? When will the President definitely decide what he will do ? There is not in Christendom a more supreme autocrat ; nor is there any people who yield more readily to the arbitrary will of a dictator.

The Emperor of Germany has councillors trained in various departments of governmental affairs with whom he consults and through whom he is advised on all matters relating to affairs of state, the industries and commerce of the nation. And these councillors appear to enjoy the confidence of the German people who support the policies of the Government, not only in Germany but also in America. The German Emperor has declared that his will is the supreme law of the land ; the President of the United States has made no such declaration but in actual point of fact his will has been the supreme law of this land for nearly two years.

The tragic story of the *Lusitania* is too well known, and details of that crime against humanity need not be repeated. It was the most inhuman and dastardly crime of this or any other age. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was one of the most atrocious crimes of the Middle Ages. but it is disputed whether it was premeditated.



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Moreover, there was some chance for escape, and many did escape ; and that tragedy was at a time of deep-rooted feuds and religious frenzy. The tragedy of the *Lusitania* was premeditated, and those responsible for the murders have taken a fiendish delight in reading the story of the crime and the suffering of the innocent victims. Three ships caught the distress signals of the *Lusitania* and each of these vessels started to the relief of the sinking steamer and each was turned back by a German submarine. But the most pathetic and impressive record of the *Lusitania* tragedy is the sad story of the Crompton family, of Philadelphia. There were nine in that family on the ill-fated steamer and not one was saved. They came from the City of Brotherly Love, where, nearly 140 years ago, our colonial fathers filed an indictment against a Germanic King of England justly charging that " he had plundered our seas, ravaged our coast, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people." And the same Continental Congress published a Declaration of Independence which made possible a home in this country for German-Americans who have rejoiced at the murder of the Crompton family and other victims of the German assassins.

The American people have again made up an indictment against a German king, and they demand that he be brought to justice. He is charged with murder, destruction of the lives and

property of American citizens, substantially the same crimes charged by our colonial fathers against the German King of England. The German people have many friends in this country who say this is a crime of the German Government, that the German people do not approve it and are not guilty. Leading magazines and newspapers in this country have taken the position that the German people are not responsible and will not approve the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The German people have not protested against the atrocities in Belgium, the attacks on undefended coast towns in England, the sinking of vessels flying the American flag, and they have made no protest regarding the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Indeed, they have approved all of these crimes. Following every great crime committed by the German Navy or Army, the people of Germany have held public meetings and rejoiced at the news.

The German Government sowed the North Sea with mines and blew up harmless trawlers from neutral countries. The German Government sent airships over Antwerp, Paris, Warsaw, and many undefended towns and villages in Belgium, France and Poland, and scattered death and destruction. The German Government sent warships to the coast of England and killed women and children in Whitby, Hartlepool, Scarborough and Yarmouth. It murdered in the most fiendish manner

women and children in Belgium. Every one of these shocking crimes against humanity and civilization has been approved by the people of Germany. There has come no protest from the people of Germany but there have come reports of great rejoicing over these crimes. And here in America not one public meeting has been held by German-Americans to protest against any of these crimes. German-Americans have approved and gloated over these atrocities ; their approval has been expressed at public meetings, through the American Press, and through German papers published in America. Some of the most prominent and influential German-Americans have publicly expressed their approval of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

A Commission from the Belgian Government came to this country and delivered to the President documents containing specific charges relating to German atrocities in Belgium ; Richard Harding Davis, E. Alexander Powell and other writers of experience, ability and integrity have told the story of these crimes in Belgium. *The Field*, London, published a supplement under the title of "German Atrocities on Record with Authentic Illustrations," containing the story of personal observations and experience of Dr. Arthur Tacquin, one of the Physicians-in-Ordinary to the King of the Belgians. The French Government made an investigation and reported on these charges of

brutality against the German Army. Finally, we have the report of the Bryce Commission, the conclusions of which are summed up in these words :

" It is proved :

" First.—That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.

" Second.—That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and the children murdered.

" Third.—That looting, house-burning and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German Army ; that elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burnings and destruction were frequent where no military necessity could be alleged, being indeed part of a system of general terrorization.

" Fourth.—That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag."

Time and again have representatives of the German Government been guilty of the most flagrant violations of American neutrality. The German Government has fomented sedition, corrupted the Press, so far as it could be corrupted, and its hirelings have sought to instigate and encourage strikes and cripple industrial enterprises. The contaminating influence of its spy system has reached every department of our Government.

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German-American citizens have been active agents in these breaches of neutrality, but their seditious work has been supplemented by official representatives of the German Government who have been in America since the outbreak of the war. These conspirators are the most blatant peace propagandists in America, and while carrying on their propaganda for peace, they are continuously engaged in work in the interest of the German Government, not only violating the neutrality of this country, but striking at the peace and security of the Government.

"A German Ambassador derides diplomatic conventions, and addresses his official communication, over the head of the Administration, to German voters in the United States, sparing no pains to make his words offensive. German officials juggle with passports, and undermine the nation's neutrality. A German professor at Harvard, who for years has received courteous and honourable treatment from the hands of Americans, threatens us openly with the 'crushing power' of the German vote; and bids us beware the punishment which 25,000,000 citizens, 'in whose homes lives the memory of German ancestors,' will inflict upon his hospitable hosts. Residents of Madison and Milwaukee are asking timidly why, if President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin has forbidden his faculty to discuss the war, even in private conversation at their clubs, two of the German professors should have felt themselves at liberty to address public meetings in strong and bitter language?"¹

But the Germans say we do not understand them. Well, how could any civilized people

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, Agnes Repplier.

understand or have any respect for people who are guilty of such inhuman practices? It is nothing but a horrible story of bloodthirsty and savage Huns who have no respect for the laws of God or man. These terrible things which the German soldiers have done are just what they have been taught to do. Here are the words of William II. in his address to his soldiers when they were sent to China in 1900 :

" When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. . . . Just as the Huns 1,000 years ago, under the leadership of Etzel (Attila) gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such manner that no Chinaman will ever again even dare to look askance at a German."

Time and time again has the Kaiser declared the savage and murderous purposes of his heart and the vandal policies which he intended to maintain for the purpose of world domination. From the time he ascended the throne down to the latest events in the present tragic war, William II. has talked like a savage and continued his preparations for savage warfare against all who opposed him. He has done and is trying to do just what he said he would do. The Kaiser has not deceived the world ; the world has deceived itself. No ruler has ever had a firmer hold on his people than the German Kaiser has on Germany.

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He has prepared his people for this world war, taught them that they must violate all usages and laws of civilization, slaughter, destroy without mercy or compassion, in short, do all things necessary for world conquest ; and they have been taught that all men are their enemies and the only way to deal with their enemies is to rob and murder them. While the German people have been educated in this school of savagery, other nations have given attention to the pursuits of peace. They closed their ears to the threats of the Kaiser and shut their eyes to the preparation which he was making to carry out his threats.

When the Germans invaded Belgium and the debauchery of crimes began, weaklings and pacifists joined with German propagandists in denials and explanations. As the crimes have increased in number and ferocity, the German propagandists have grown more aggressive and insolent and the pacifists have grown more turbulent. Even after the *Lusitania* horror, which occasioned such wild demonstrations of joy in Germany, and approval by a large majority of Germans in America, public men and leading papers and magazines in America had some excuse and palliation to offer, advising the American people not to get excited, not to allow their prejudices to influence their judgment. And we are again reminded that the German people are very gentle and humane and do not approve the

wicked things done by the German Army and Navy. If they do not approve these things, why have they held public demonstrations in Germany immediately following reports of atrocities by the German Army or Navy? Public meetings were held and there was great rejoicing in the German cities when news was received of the sacking of Louvain. Again following the bombardment of undefended coast cities of England, and when news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* reached Germany there was great rejoicing and public meetings were held, and this act of piracy was proclaimed as a great achievement of the German Navy. Germanophil apologists in America have ventured the feeble explanation that the people of Germany are not now in a position to express their honest sentiments and candid judgment. This may be true, but it is not true, as suggested by some of these apologists, that governmental coercion in Germany could cause the people to express great joy over events which they did not approve. Moreover, German-American citizens are wholly removed from coercive measures of the German Government and they have, with few exceptions, expressed their approval, and many who would not publicly express their approval of the act have stated that they preferred to say nothing. Very few German-Americans have condemned the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Residents of Chicago and other cities

of the United States where there is a large German population, have been in a position to hear German-Americans, men and women, in private conversation express their approval of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Another evidence of meanness and pusillanimous wickedness on the part of German-Americans in their system of espionage is found in the malignant persecution they have directed against Belgians who are now citizens of the United States. The present writer has been in a position to observe and investigate evidence of boycotting and persecution of Belgians by Germans. One case came to his attention while these lines are being written. A native of Belgium, who has been in this country seven years and is now a citizen of the United States, was employed as janitor at an apartment building. He is a man of unusual intelligence and his wife is a woman of unusual attainments for one in her position ; he has high testimonials of his integrity, sobriety and efficiency from landlords, tenants and real-estate agents. This man has a mother and three sisters in Belgium, at least they were in Belgium at the outbreak of the war—he has not heard from them since the first week of the war. Germans who are employed as janitors have subjected this man to petty persecutions which have given him great annoyance ; and this case is one of many. German-Americans started their persecutions against

Belgians in this country shortly after the beginning of the war ; these persecutions have increased as the record of German atrocities have been gathered and published.

Here, then, we have the story of our relations with Germany from the colonial period of American history down to the murder of more than 100 American citizens in the sinking of the *Lusitania*. In brief, it is a story of impertinent interference in our domestic affairs and foreign relations ; a record of insults to our flag and murder of American citizens. The tragedies of the present war have shown that Germany has no respect for its treaty obligations, no regard for the laws or usages of civilized nations. German history since the beginning of the present war is simply a horrible story of savage Huns, the most inhuman and revolting since the Dark Ages. If the German people are not responsible for these abhorrent crimes, who in the name of civilization and humanity is responsible ? We know who are the guilty parties ; the evidence in the case has fixed the guilt on the German Army and Navy. And the evidence in the case also shows that the German people, not only in Germany but expatriated Germans in other countries, German-Americans in particular, are not only boastfully proud of their army and navy but also have the most sycophantic adulation for the Kaiser. This mighty war lord and vice-regent of Germany.

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German Kaiser, is the most oppressive and blood-thirsty ruler that has horrified and terrorized the world since the days of Attila. And he takes a fiendish delight in the harrowing details of the crimes against civilization and humanity perpetrated by the brutish vandals under his direction. But, as already shown, his deeds are according to the spirit of his declarations; he proclaimed himself the sword of God and declared he would "smash" all who opposed him. He instructed his soldiers to give no quarter, to take no prisoners, "let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy just as did the Huns a thousand years ago." William II. gave the world, America in particular, ample warning. "Nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of Germany and of the German Emperor."

An interesting article by former Senator Beveridge, published in *Collier's* for May, contains this statement quoted from M. Gabriel Hanotoux, for many years Minister for Foreign Affairs in France: "After England it would have been your turn. Germany would have attacked the United States next. I speak of what I know. The German Emperor has declared more than twenty times that he intended to attack the United States."

"This has been a fixed idea with him ever since he came to the throne. On his first visit to the Tsar of Russia, he propounded to him his favourite thesis, and endeavoured to enlist

the Tsar's support in the holy cause of anti-Americanism. Nicholas II. listened with a sympathetic interest, which is natural to him in talking to all men, whether moujiks or Kaisers, but he did not see his way to fall in with his guest's idea."¹

Failing in his first effort to win over the Tsar to a European combination against America, the Kaiser induced Count Goluchowski, Foreign Secretary of Austria-Hungary, publicly to announce the proposed policy of a European coalition against America. When the German Emperor visited London, he surprised England by announcing that the new shipbuilding policy of Germany was not directed against Great Britain. So far from being a menace to Great Britain, he is said to have stated that he regarded every new ship added to the German Navy "as an addition to the fighting force of the British fleet. For, he argued, it was inevitable that the United States sooner or later would endeavour to grasp the supreme position on the sea at present held by Great Britain. When that day came Great Britain would find in the German fleet her most potent ally. The nations of the Old World, representing culture and civilization, would have to stand shoulder to shoulder in resisting the contemplated attack of the new barbarians of the Western World."¹ Again, there is the story of

¹ "The Americanization of the World," W. T. Stead.

the interview with M. de Segur when, it is alleged, the Kaiser spoke of the United States of America and the probable war with this country.

America has had sufficient warnings, not only in the declarations of the Kaiser, but also in the policies and methods of the German Government, *vide* Danish West Indian Islands, Samoan affair, Spanish-American war and Mexican affairs. Notwithstanding this record, the Bernhardt doctrine which is German policy, notwithstanding insults to the United States flag, murder of United States citizens and the spread of Germanic propaganda in America, we are daily admonished to be neutral and maintain a policy of "watchful waiting."

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CHAPTER XVI

PACIFICIST PROPAGANDA

"THE German nation has found itself again, and its oneness of mind is symbolized in the Kaiser." These are the words of Dr. Hugo Münsterberg, in his late book, "The Peace and America." Dr. Münsterberg's idea of peace is that it may be secured by teaching the American people to admire and love the German Emperor. A rather laborious undertaking, but this German propagandist is persevering. "The *Times* is out of joint," says Dr. Münsterberg. "I wish I could make the Americans see William II., not as in that vulgar, brutal caricature with which *Life* has poisoned the imagination, but as he really appears as man to man. . . . I remember distinctly one evening when the Emperor stood by the open fireplace, a cigarette between his lips, telling me laughingly what the 'boy,' that is the Crown Prince, had just written from his hunting trip through India. . . . I never saw him laugh more than at some good quotations from Mark Twain. . . . And the chivalrous way in which he always makes his wife the leading personage present has something really fascinating. . . . I saw the

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Empress in a magnificent evening gown, with her long chains of superb pearls, sitting down at the Emperor's side after dinner and crocheting for a Christmas bazaar, while the talk between the two and their two guests flitted hither and thither."

This is a beautiful story which Dr. Münsterberg has placed before his American admirers, although this learned psychologist has not indicated the precise relation which affairs of state bear to the details of the Emperor's household, as observed by one of his guests while the "talk flitted hither and thither." While considering "The Peace and America," one's thoughts are led into new channels; it is interesting to know that the German Emperor "stood by the open fireplace, a cigarette between his lips," and all real Americans will be delighted to learn that the Emperor actually laughed at "some good quotations from Mark Twain." The reference to "a magnificent evening gown with long chains of superb pearls" would make good copy for the society columns of a Sunday paper. Here is an opportunity for a new field in German propaganda. But as few Americans have enjoyed the opportunity of listening to the chit-chat of royalty, and as historians and biographers have never embellished their narratives of American history with adulation, the American reader may not easily appreciate the importance which attaches to these charming and dramatic stories of the German savant.

However, German influence is making adulators in America ; and considerable progress is being made in educating American children along this line. The tribute to the Kaiser in the Chicago spelling-book, to the exclusion of any reference to an American patriot or statesman, is a dilettante effort which has pleased the mollicoddles and peace-at-any-price pro-Germans. Another evidence of Germanic influence in the development of American servility is found in some of the letters from correspondents of pro-German newspapers ; one of these correspondents was in great ecstasy over the fact that he saw the Kaiser smile and that he really believed the Kaiser glanced at him.

One statement made by Dr. Münsterberg is a little discouraging. In telling his American readers about the charming qualities of the gracious Kaiser, the author of "Peace and America" chafes under the impression that the Americans have not had a good likeness of the Kaiser. "I wish I could make the Americans see William II., not as in that vulgar brutal caricature with which *Life* has poisoned the imagination, but as he really appears as man to man." This is surprising. The Kaiser has been very gracious and liberal with photographers, "kodak fiends," and all kinds of picture makers, and during many years the American public has been well supplied with a great variety and

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number of pictures of the Kaiser. And very few of these pictures have come from the artists engaged by *Life*. Nor has there been any dearth of word pictures. During many years American newspapers and magazines have been burdened with graphic stories of this mighty Kaiser. Every hyphenated American who could use a pen and find a place to print his effusions has poured out his servile heart in fulsome praise of his master. According to Professor Kuno Francke, four volumes of the Kaiser's speeches have been printed. A whole library has been made in praise of this "vice-regent of God." He is the best-advertised man in the world, yet Dr. Münsterberg laments the absence of a correct picture of the Kaiser.

A study of the fierce expression, the strongly marked lines in the face of the Kaiser, in connection with his frequent outbursts of autocratic and ferocious policies, have led the American people to believe that he is a typical corsair of whom it could be said :

" There was a laughing devil in his sneer,
That raised emotions both of rage and fear ;
And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,
Hope withering fled—and Mercy sigh'd farewell."

But Dr. Münsterberg is an honourable man, devoted to the Kaiser ; he speaks with knowledge and authority, and we should accept his point of

view. After reading the report of the Belgian Commission, the official report of the French Government, and the report of the Bryce Commissions, supplemented by the statement of numerous trustworthy individuals in matters relating to Belgian atrocities, and the appalling story of the *Lusitania*, all of which were done under the direction of the German Emperor, and according to his frequently avowed purpose, the world stands aghast. With this record before us, we consider Dr. Münsterberg's late pen picture of the Kaiser, and again turn to the famous English poet for a description of this re-incarnation of Attila, and find that :

" He was the mildest manner'd man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat."

Some of the most consummate villains and inhuman rulers in fiction and history have possessed great learning and charming manners.

The Duke of Alva, who pillaged Belgium more than three hundred years ago, came from an illustrious family and was educated in military science and politics, with all the accomplishments of a Spanish grandee. His hospitality to Counts Egmont and Hoorne were according to the regal custom of that period ; the murder of his guests was according to the cruel and cowardly practices of that ferocious and vindictive grandee. The inhuman Alva was always debonair, even

when he directed the "Council of Blood." S was Mohammed II. a man of education; he spoke five languages fluently and was well versed in the natural sciences and fine arts. It is a little comfort to the homeless and bereaved of Belgium to learn that their homes were burned and their aged kin murdered under the direction of German army officers who had been educated and trained in the art of entertaining.

The world's verdict on the bloody Alva was expressed by Motley in these words: "Such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness, and universal bloodthirstiness has never been found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human being." When the verdict of the world is made up on the record of the war lord of Germany, who calls himself the vice-regent and weapon of God, upon whom the spirit of God has descended, he will be placed in the same class of ferocious vandals as the Duke of Alva. Attila, Alva and William II. of Germany have been the scourge of the Low Countries.

The pacifist movement has been more active in America than in any other country, and the centre of its activities is in that section of the United States where German influence is the greatest and German propaganda most virulent. Another interesting phase of the peace movement in America has been the support which it has received from the pro-German element. Had the

pacifists shown concern about the violation of Belgium's neutrality, the sacking of Belgian cities and the murder of Belgian women and children, those evidences of barbarism which make war necessary, their plea for humanity would have received more thoughtful attention from those who are justly and discreetly humane. "America and the World War" is the title of a very interesting book by Theodore Roosevelt. It is written in the clear, vigorous style so characteristic of Colonel Roosevelt; the true American spirit expressed with such earnest patriotism is another striking feature of this book. And from this volume the following is taken :

"The kind of 'neutrality' which seeks to preserve 'peace' by timidly refusing to live up to our plighted word and to denounce and take action against such wrong as that committed in the case of Belgium, is unworthy of an honourable and powerful people. Dante reserved a special place of infamy in the inferno for those base angels who dared side neither with evil nor with good. Peace is ardently to be desired, but only as the handmaid of righteousness. The only peace of permanent value is the peace of righteousness. There can be no such peace until well-behaved, highly civilized small nations are protected from oppression and subjugation. . . ."

"The prime fact as regards Belgium is that Belgium was an entirely peaceful and genuinely neutral Power which had been guilty of no offence whatever. What has befallen her is due to the further fact that a great, highly civilized military Power deemed that its own vital interests rendered imperative the infliction of this suffering on an inoffensive although valiant and patriotic little nation."

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"The folly preached by some of these individuals is somewhat startling, and if it were translated from words into deeds it would constitute a crime against the nation. One professed teacher of morality made the plea in so many words that we ought to follow the example of China and deprive ourselves of all power to repel foreign attack. Surely this writer must have possessed the exceedingly small amount of information necessary in order to know that nearly half of China was under foreign dominion and that while he was writing the Germans and Japanese were battling on Chinese territory and domineering as conquerors over the Chinese in that territory. Think of the abject soul of a man capable of holding up to the admiration of freeborn American citizens such a condition of serfage under alien rule!"

"Nor is the folly confined only to the male sex. A number of women teachers in Chicago are credited with having proposed, in view of the war, hereafter to prohibit in the teaching of history any reference to war and battles. Intellectually, of course, such persons show themselves unfit to be retained as teachers a single day, and indeed unfit to be pupils in any school more advanced than a kindergarten. But it is not their intellectual, it is also their moral shortcomings which are striking."

"The Sale of Munitions of War by Neutrals to Belligerents" is the title of a very interesting article by Charles Noble Gregory, LL.D., Washington, D.C., published in the July, 1915, number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. And from the illuminating article of this clear-visioned writer the following pertinent excerpts are made:

"It is constantly urged that since the Allies command the seas, and the Germans cannot get access to our markets, while the Allies can, that real neutrality requires us to refuse

such supplies to the Allies. It is submitted that nothing could be more impossible or confusing than to shift the rule of neutral obligations with the varying events and successes of war. . . .

"German citizens have habitually sold vast quantities of military supplies to belligerents. Essen is perhaps the very centre of military supplies and has exported on an enormous scale to belligerents in all modern wars, making, it is understood, vast profits from this traffic in the late Balkan wars. It will be interesting to know what has been Germany's practice when one of the belligerents had access to her markets and the other had not. . . .

"England had seized and searched a number of neutral steamers—including three German steamers—and positively claimed the right to seize contraband bound to the Boers though through a neutral port. She relied for this largely on the precedents of our Civil War, and it would appear that the access of the Boer force to German markets was substantially destroyed. The question occurred to the writer, would it be found that during the later years there were imported from Germany into England large quantities of arms and military supplies notwithstanding this situation? He therefore took the liberty to apply to the British Embassy at Washington, which very obligingly cabled to London for information. April 27 a letter from the Embassy advised that 'when the Boers were shut off from supplies by sea, Great Britain got from Germany 108 fifteen-pounder quick-firing guns and 500 rounds per gun. They were purchased from Ehrhardt by private negotiations.' It is respectfully submitted that this is sufficient to support the practice of our Government. But this writer had made other investigations which showed vastly larger military supplies passing from Germany to Great Britain at this time."

Germany has sold arms and munitions of war to every country that wanted to buy and was

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able to pay ; and to Belgium she sold, according to reports, arms inferior to those she reserved for her own use. In the Russo-Japanese war she sold to both belligerents ; she has been the world's chief source of supply for instruments of death.

Professor Kuno Francke, Curator of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University, is generally regarded as one of the most charitable and loyal of German-Americans. He declined to support the so-called " Neutrality League " and wrote a very interesting letter to Congressman Bartholdt which won favourable notice in America. This letter was republished in a book by Professor Francke under the title of " A German-American's Confession of faith " ; and in this book is the following Germanic confession :

" One word I wish to add here regarding the exportation of arms and munitions of war.

" That this traffic, in spite of its international legality, is as vicious and hideous to me as to anybody, may be taken for granted. That in the present war this traffic, carried on upon a colossal scale by American firms, should bring death and destruction to thousands upon thousands of Germans and should seriously injure the cause with whose triumphs all my hopes and desires are bound up, is a thought from which I suffer fully as much as any of my German-American compatriots.

" But it is one thing to condemn individuals carrying on this hideous traffic, and another to hold our Government responsible for it."

" Was this traffic vicious and hideous " when

German manufacturers were shipping munitions and arms to the British Government, to be used in killing the brave farmers of the veldt who had migrated from the Teutonic neighbourhood of Northern Europe? Will this learned professor take the patient and hospitable citizens of his adopted country into his confidence and tell them of his lamentations when the unspeakable Turk was slaughtering Armenians, Slavs and Greek under the direction of German officers and with munitions and arms made in Germany? When was Professor Francke when the *Ypiranga*, Hamburg-American liner, in face of the protest of this Government, unloaded its cargo of arms and munitions at Puerto Mexico? Did he protest against that hideous traffic? Did he tell the world that it was "vicious and hideous" for German manufacturers to sell arms to the assassins of Madero, and munitions which brought death and destruction to the poor, friendless, half-lad and half-starved Mexicans? Cotton shipped from America to Germany was made into gun-cotton that fired the torpedo into the undefended passenger steamer *Lusitania*. When civilization stood aghast and humanity was chilled to the marrow at that horrible massacre, did Prof. Francke come forth from his peaceful and classic environments and lift up his voice in protest against this "vicious and hideous traffic"?

At the nineteenth annual meeting of the

American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in Philadelphia, John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law in Columbia University, said :

" What we call neutrality is a system of conduct regulated, not by the emotions nor by individual conceptions of propriety, but by certain well-defined rules, and it is synonymous with impartiality only in the sense that those rules are to be enforced with impartial rigour upon all belligerents."

In commenting on the remarks of Prof. Moore, *The New York Times* said :

" Those who err through ignorance cannot do better than to sit at the feet of Professor John Bassett Moore and listen to his instructive words. . . .

" The active propaganda carried on here against the export of munitions of war flies in the face of all law and all rules of neutrality. Sometimes the argument is heard that we are guilty of unneutral conduct in continuing to export war supplies to the Allies now that Germany, having no ships upon the sea, is unable to procure them here. This is substituting a personal conception of propriety for a long-established principle of law. Again, we are told that in selling guns and ammunition to the Allies we make ourselves accomplices in the murder of those against whom they are used. This is the emotional view ; it is held only by those who have no conception of law."

In the midst of so much pacifist propaganda and such humiliating evidence of decadence it is refreshing and encouraging to hear the strong and patriotic declarations from the producers of this country. On June 11, the day of the publication of the note to Germany which furnished

the pretext of the ignominious retirement of the late Secretary of State, President Samuel Gompers of the Federation of Labour gave expression to this patriotic sentiment :

" The influence of the American Federation of Labour, the workers of the country, will be exerted for the maintenance of peace, and yet we cannot permit to be challenged the insistency that the lives of Americans shall not be unnecessarily and unwarrantably jeopardized."

And again, President Gompers declined to be a speaker on the same platform with Mr. Bryan at the peace meeting in New York, and sent a forceful letter to Secretary Bohm of the Central Federated Union, from which the following truly American declaration is taken :

" Who deplores the struggles which resulted in the wringing from an unwilling king of the Magna Charta ? Who is there who has one harsh word to utter against the men who engaged in the Revolution to make the Declaration of Independence and the Republic of the United States actualities ? Who now condemns Abraham Lincoln in the fight which he and the men of his time contested for the abolition of human slavery and the maintenance of the Union ? How few are there who have a word of unkindness to say of the people of the United States in the struggle with Spain to secure justice, freedom and independence for the Republic of Cuba.

" The lessons which these struggles teach have their application also upon the industrial field where tyranny, wrong, injustice and unfreedom are attempted to be imposed upon the workers. And who will deny to the toilers the right to enter upon the industrial struggle, with all the sacrifices which they may entail, in order to maintain the degree of freedom and standards which we have already secured, and in the

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constant, ever-pressing, yearning hope and demand of the organized labour movement which the toilers make upon employers and society for a better return and reward for the services which the workers give to society ?

"The American Federation of Labour, as a great group representing the workers of America, and I, as an officer and a man, have done something for the maintenance of peace, and are willing to go to the fullest lengths for its maintenance.

"I am not willing to have either the labour movement or our men and women placed in a false position. The United States will not voluntarily enter into the present European War. Of that I am confident. We shall keep out of it if we possibly can with any degree of faithfulness to the fundamental principles of justice, freedom and safety. If, despite our reserve and self-control, we shall be dragged into it whether we like it or not, there will be but one position for us to take, and that is to be true to ourselves, true to our fellows, true to the highest ideals of humanity for which our movement stands."

Three months later, Mr. Gompers wrote another forcible and patriotic letter to John Brisben Walker, of New York, Chairman of the National Committee of the Friends of Peace, and one of the chief promoters of the so-called peace meeting held in Chicago during the early part of September. In that letter Mr. Gompers said :

"From my knowledge of events it is not peace which is being furthered by your movement and your meeting ; your purpose is to place the people of the United States in a false position before the world, to play into the hands of one side of the warring nations as against the other. . . . It may not be uninteresting to call attention to the fact that paid emissaries of your ' Friends of Peace ' have gone from city to city

and by insidious and false representations attempted to financially corrupt a large number of representative men among the union workers of the United States. That so many have proved incorruptible is due to their intelligence, to their honour and to their integrity."

At the International Congress of Women held at The Hague in the interest of peace, America had the largest delegation. Germany had 29, Austria-Hungary had 22, Norway 16, Sweden 15. England's delegation was supposed to be at least 20, but the 20 did not arrive. However, there was one English woman present who was not lacking in virile British patriotism and courage. "I am just a plain English working woman," said Miss Lillington, the London delegate, "but I represent millions of women who favour the present just war as much as do the men. One hundred and eighty women are said to be waiting at Tilbury to come to this Congress to talk peace. For every one of those a thousand English women are willing to accompany their sons and husbands to fight. We are tired of the century-old silly platitudes as uttered here." Miss Lillington, according to a report of the proceeding of that Congress, "was ruled out of order." Well, she was out of place, perhaps out of order, in the deliberations of that callous assembly; but she was in her proper place when she returned to the "mother of parliaments" and the nursery of democracy. All honour to Miss Lillington. She ought to be a mother.

Great Britain has had many such mothers and that is the secret of her greatness and stability. If Miss Lillington is only a type of the English working woman, they must have the courage and patriotism of the Spartan mother who rejoiced when she was able to give her sons to her country. When these splendid women have finished their work in this world, they will be in order in heaven where order is the first law and patriotism is not out of place.

A delegate returning from the Peace Congress gave out this statement to a New York paper :

"The meetings were full of intensity, but absolutely dignified, self-controlled, unhysterical. There were no dissensions, no emotional outbreaks, few tears. Letters only came from French and Russian women, for, as one French woman wrote : ' We cannot leave our country while the enemy is on our soil.' "

The French women had more important duties in France and, according to all reports, they are giving attention to those duties, heroically and with the fortitude the French women have always shown. It is well that one French woman found time to write a few lines. If the brave, womanly words she wrote did not disturb the dignity nor perturb the self-control of the Peace Congress, fortunately they reached men and women in all parts of the world who are willing to have their hearts touched and their emotions aroused. These

few words from the French women are like a message from Joan of Arc or Madame Roland. "Few tears" at the Peace Congress, but tears without number when this message from France reached those who were not at the Peace Congress, and those who wept, prayed and resolved that they would work and pray until the vandals are driven from French soil.

France and Belgium, the countries which have suffered most from this cruel war, the countries most concerned about peace, were not very prominent at the Peace Congress, but there was at least one woman from Belgium whom the world will not soon forget. There was Mlle. Hamer of the Belgian delegation, who had in her veins some of the blood of the brave Belgians whom Cæsar knew. When a woman whose name suggested the nationality of the fiends who had sacked her country and murdered her people, requested that "all the delegates stand in prayer," Mlle. Hamer "asked permission to utter a few words." When this was granted, "she astounded her audience with the dramatic exclamation: 'I am a Belgian before everything, and I cannot think as you do. There can be no peace without justice. The war must continue until the Belgians' wrongs have been righted. There must be no mediation except at the bar of justice.'" This is simply astounding. How could Mlle. Hamer dare to talk about justice or Belgium's wrongs at a

"dignified" Peace Congress? How very un-Germanic.

But the brave words of Mlle. Hamer, like the words of Miss Lillington and the message from the French woman, went beyond the proceedings of the "dignified" and "unhysterical" Peace Congress. They reached the outside world where there is more virility than dignity, where "self-control" has given way to such emotions as patriotism and humanity, fidelity and love, under the influence of which the brightest pages of history have been made. The words of Mlle. Hamer will live long after the proceedings of the "self-controlled and dignified" Peace Congress have been buried with the musty tomes of the German propaganda. Not since the days of Patrick Henry has the world heard such brave and noble words. When the false teachings of Bernhardi have been forgotten, when America no longer recalls the vapourings of Bernstorff, Münsterberg and Dernburg, and their craven American allies, the words of Patrick Henry and Mlle. Hamer will live in the hearts of all true Americans, arousing the noblest aspirations of liberty-loving people in every land. Mlle. Hamer has built a monument in the hearts of all true Belgians which will be more enduring than the work of the Peace Congress.

A few days after her return to this country, Miss Jane Addams, President of the Women's

Peace Convention, spoke at a "welcoming mass meeting held in Carnegie Hall," New York, July 9. It was an interesting coincidence that the peace meeting at Carnegie Hall was held the night before the public was given the second note from Germany. However, these striking coincidences in our relations with Germany are not unusual; some sort of psychological influence seems to direct these things in the interest of German propaganda. According to newspaper reports, Miss Addams made these astounding statements:

"She told of a young wounded soldier whom the women met in an army hospital in Switzerland. Not aware that he was doomed to death by consumption, caused by a shot through the lungs, confident that he was to return to the trenches, the German, who was well educated, much travelled, and only twenty-eight years old, said to Miss Addams:

" 'Do you know that during the three and a half months that I was in the trenches I operated my gun in such a way that I could not possibly hit anyone? They can send me to the front, order me to fire, but the final act is with my hands and conscience.'

" This soldier had a brother, an officer, he told Miss Addams.

" 'He never shoots to kill,' he added, 'and I know hundreds of men who don't.'

" Miss Addams told of five young Germans, recovered from wounds and ready to go back to the front, who committed suicide because they were afraid they would be put in a position to have to kill some one else."

This is the apogee of German propaganda. During many months the world has been reading the record of German barbarism, all of which is

a matter of current history recorded in enlightening and authenticated reports. Numerous authorities have been cited in previous chapters of this volume to support the general charge that, "the German race has always been pre-eminent for barbarity in war. Germany's conquests have largely been barren because of the brutality of her methods." In view of Miss Addams' statement the wonder is how and by whom so many soldiers and non-combatants of the Allies have been killed and wounded.

Miss Addams is credited with another statement more shocking than the first ; she said :

"That in order to get bayonet charges all nations make their soldiers practically drunk before it was possible. In Germany they have a regular formula for it, she said. In England they use rum and the French resort to absinthe. In other words, before the terrible bayonet charges they speak of with dread, the men must be 'doped' before they will start."

No one is better qualified to answer these vile charges than Richard Harding Davis. In a letter to *The New York Times* Mr. Davis stated the facts and expressed his sentiment with his usual candour and vigour :

"In this war the French or English soldier who has been killed in a bayonet charge gave his life to protect his home and country. For his supreme exit he had prepared himself by months of discipline. Through the winter in the trenches he has endured shells, disease, snow, and ice. For months he had been separated from his wife, children, friends—all those

he most loved. When the order to charge came it was for them he gave his life, that against those who destroyed Belgium they might preserve their home, might live to enjoy peace.

"Miss Addams denies him the credit of his sacrifice. She strips him of honour and courage. She tells his children, 'Your father did not die for France, or for England, or for you; he died because he was drunk.'

"In my opinion, since the war began, no statement has been so unworthy or so untrue and ridiculous. The contempt it shows for the memory of the dead is appalling; the credulity and ignorance it displays are inconceivable.

"Miss Addams does not know that even from France they have banished absinthe. If she doubts that in this France has succeeded let her ask for it. I asked for it, and each *maitre d'hôtel* treated me as though I had proposed we should assassinate General Joffre.

"If Miss Addams does know that the French Government has banished absinthe, then she is accusing it of openly receiving the congratulations of the world for destroying the drug while secretly using it to make fiends of the army. If what Miss Addams states is true, then the French Government is rotten. French officers deserve only court-martial, and French soldiers are cowards.

"If we are to believe her, the Canadians at Ypres, the Australians in the Dardanelles, the English and the French on the Aisne made no supreme sacrifice, but were killed in a drunken brawl."

After reading Miss Addams' address in New York and her subsequent interviews and addresses, one is irresistibly driven to the conclusion that her proclivities are decidedly pro-German. Her assertions regarding evidence of kindness and humane disposition on the part of soldiers refer only to the Germans. Not a word about German atrocities,

but several artful suggestions about inhumanities of French and English soldiers. The climax of this prejudice is found in a statement which Miss Addams made in her Chicago address :

“ And now a word about my last impression—perhaps the saddest of all. It is the way animosities in Europe are being so widely fed by things that happen in the war.

“ I remember a young Frenchman I talked to. ‘ The next thing we are going to try,’ he told me, ‘ is to squirt petroleum into the enemy trenches so that everything will take fire.’

“ ‘ That is a terrible thing, isn’t it ?’ I said. ‘ Yes,’ he replied, ‘ but think of the gas.’ ”

Miss Addams does not relate any specific evidence of German cruelties that impressed her ; she found specific evidence of German humanity that impressed her very much. Not a word about the reign of terror in Belgium, no reference to the unspeakable horrors from the use of gas by the Germans. “ The last impression, the saddest of all,” was the story of proposed French cruelty ; she heard nothing nor did she see anything evidencing kindness or humanity on the part of the French or British soldiers. As a leader of the pacifists Miss Addams is hardly a competent witness for or against either of the belligerents ; nor can she afford to be an advocate of either belligerent.

One evil of the pacifist agitation in America is that it is largely under the influence, and generally under the direction, of German propagandists, and contemplates peace only through the ramifications

of German propaganda. It is inopportune, indeed unfortunate, that so distinguished and useful a citizen as Miss Addams should find her position at the head of the peace movement even suggesting German proclivities. In an interview published in *The New York Times Magazine* Miss Addams stated that she "was immensely impressed by the number of German women at the Congress." Unwittingly, perhaps, Miss Addams has been brought under influences which developed a bias in favour of those by whom she was "immensely impressed."

For more than fifteen hundred years the name of the French soldier has been synonymous with physical courage, chivalry and gallantry, and there has been none who fought more willingly, unselfishly and valiantly for his country and for humanity. And during the same period the record of the British soldier has been as brilliant, heroic and useful as the French. If civilization were robbed of all that the British and French soldiers have done, the world's history would be very barren and there would be little left in life to prompt the exertions of those who cultivate ideals and patriotism.

"The torch of valour has been passed from one brave hand to another down the centuries, to be held to-day by the most valiant in the long line of heroes. Deeds have been done in Europe since August, 1914, which rival the most stirring feats sung by Homer or Virgil, by the Minnesingers of Germany."

by the troubadours of Provence, or told in the Norse sagas or Celtic ballads. No exploit of Ajax or Achilles excels that of the Russian Cossack, wounded in eleven places and slaying many foes. The trio that held the bridge against Lars Persena and his cohorts have been equalled by the three men of Battery L, fighting their single gun in the grey and deathly dawn until the enemy's battery was silenced. Private Wilson, who, single-handed, killed seven of the enemy and captured a gun, sold newspapers in private life; but he need not fear comparison with any of his ancient and radiant line. Who that cares for courage can forget that Frenchman, forced to march in front of a German battalion stealing to surprise his countrymen at the bridge of Three Grietchen, near Ypres? To speak meant death for himself, to be silent meant death for his comrades; and still the sentry gave no alarm. So he gave it himself. 'Fire! For the love of God, fire!' he cried, his soul alive with sacrifice; and so died. The ancient hero of romance, who gathered to his own heart the lance-heads of the foe that a gap might be made in their phalanx, did no more than that. Nelson conveniently forgot his blind eye at Copenhagen, and even in this he has his followers still. Bombardier Havelock was wounded in the thigh by fragments of shell. He had his wound dressed at the ambulance and was ordered to the hospital. Instead of obeying, he returned to his battery, to be wounded again in the back within five minutes. Once more he was patched up by the doctor and sent to hospital, this time in charge of an orderly. He escaped from his guardian, went back to fight, and was wounded for the third time. Afraid to face the angry surgeon, he lay all day beside the gun. That night he was reprimanded by his officers—and received the V.C.! Also there are the airmen, day after day facing appalling dangers in their frail, bullet-torn craft. Was there ever a stouter heart than that of the aviator, wounded to death and still planing downwards, to be found seated in his place and grasping the controls, stone-dead? Few eyes were dry that read the almost mystic story of that son of France who, struck blind in a storm of fire, still

navigated his machine, obedient to the instructions of his military companion, himself mortally wounded by shrapnel and dying even as earth was reached.

"There is no need to worship the past with a too abject devotion, whatever in the way of glory it has been to us and done for us. Chandos and Du Gueschlin, Leonidas and De Bussy have worthy compeers to-day. Beside them may stand Lance-Corporal O'Leary, the Irish peasant's son. . . . There are isolated incidents of this kind in every war; but in a thousand different places in France and Belgium the dauntless, nonchalant valour of Irishmen, Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen have shown themselves."¹

¹ "The World in the Crucible."

CHAPTER XVII

A WARNING TO AMERICA

ENGLAND'S experience in her relations with Germany, and the great danger to which Great Britain was exposed by the apologists and pacifists, should be a warning to this country. A correspondent of *The New York Times* quotes a letter to *The Spectator*, February 27, regarding the situation in England before and at the outbreak of the war, of which the following is part :

" The ramifications of the German Secret Service in England, with its enormous efforts and lavish expenditures of money, were discovered in the three years from 1911 to 1914. When the war broke out no less than 200 suspected spies were known to the authorities. In spite of all this, the leading lights of the dominant party in the state were ingeminating peace at any price. Honours were showered on gentlemen with foreign names and German proclivities, and when any question as to Germany arose we usually began to apologize for our existence. One leading publicist suggested that it would be expedient to placate Germany ' even occasionally at the sacrifice of purely strategical considerations.' Lord Loreburn and the Cobden Club informed us that, in their belief, no British Government ' would be so guilty toward our own country as to take up arms in a foreign quarrel,' and that time would show that ' the Germans have no aggressive design against us, nor we against them, and then foolish people will cease to talk of a future war between us which will never take place.' Sir

W. P. Byles could see no reason for a standing army; Sir John Brunner, the President of the National Liberal Federation, at the end of 1913 besought the delegates to pass resolutions in favour of reductions in our armament expenditure, and on another occasion he informed us that he would 'infinitely prefer the protection of recognized international law to the protection afforded to us by our navy.' "

In the present crisis we should prepare for any eventualities, and we should suppress with public opinion, and stronger measures, if any be necessary, this anti-democratic, anti-American spirit which is being used in the interest of Germany. A spirit of American patriotism should be aroused which will destroy, or at least silence, our enemies within and prepare to meet enemies who may come from without. Let us not feel too secure in our liberties nor too boastful in the potentialities of our vast resources and population. When Nehemiah was rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem many evil tidings came to him, and many threats were made by Sanballat and Tobiah, who mocked the Jews. "And it came to pass from that time forth, that half of my servants wrought in the work and half of them held the spears, the shields and the bows, and the coats of mail. . . . Every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon." We should take warning and while we build be prepared for all possible contingencies.

These are times that try men's souls. There is no place for the weaklings. The citizen who :

not for his country first, last and all the time is not a patriot. Any sort of society, organization or association in this country, made up of citizens of this country, which is not openly and actively supporting democratic institutions and the American Government is an enemy and should be treated as such. German-American leagues and societies whose members are American citizens and who have full protection of our Government should come out in the open as friends of American institutions or they should be suppressed. The German flag which they are so fond of displaying should be taken down and the American flag put in its place. This is one very proper way in which they may show their American patriotism.

It has been stated in the newspapers that there are over 2,000 German societies in the United States and hundreds of newspapers. These agencies are all the time working for the German-American to the exclusion of all other interests. These influences are necessarily antagonistic to American institutions. There can be nothing in common between Germanism and Americanism, they are centuries apart in their political and social institutions. An American citizen identified with any sort of German society or organization which undertakes to exercise political influence in this country is working against the interest of this country and such influences are detrimental to civic progress and menacing to our peace.

Since the sinking of the *Lusitania*, a large number of prominent German-American citizens have stated that, in event of war between this country and Germany, they would stand by this country. We should accept this assurance in good faith and take it for granted that in case of war between America and Germany a large number, perhaps a majority, of the German-Americans would not only give this country their loyal support but fight for it if necessary. But while accepting this statement in the utmost good faith we wonder why the German-Americans have done and said those things which have tended to precipitate war and stir up national and racial hatreds, and why have they maintained a propaganda which is un-American and violated our neutrality?

According to a cablegram from Berlin the *Gorlitz Volks-Zeitung* was "placed under the censorship for having published an article on the American note. The article criticized the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*."

Returning to America about June 1, ex-Senator Lafayette Young said:

"I wish the American people generally realized that we have no friends in Germany and that even our naturalized fellow citizens there are not our friends. . . . The cars run by the Belgian Relief Association in Belgium carry the American flag, and I think the flag is positively offensive to the Germans. It was another source of offence to the Germans that the American flag was to be found in so many shop windows in Belgium."

The German flag has been freely displayed in America, in many cases to the neglect of the United States flag, and the German flag was not displayed in connection with relief work but in connection with protests and criticisms directed against this country.

Our protest to Germany in the matter of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and other less heinous crimes against life and property, was a dignified and strong State paper, although it contained adulatory statements wholly unnecessary and humiliating. It also contained strong protestations of friendship and very fulsome reference to long-established friendship between the two countries, all of which accords with polite diplomatic usages, if not with the facts of history. Germany waited two weeks to send a reply to a very imperative note. When the reply came it was typically Germanic; it contained no florid reference to long-established friendship nor pledges of fidelity. It was very curt, if not actually offensive in language and form. It was not a reply to our complaints; it simply suggested an investigation of the alleged facts. The Germans do not deal in platitudes.

How different have been our relations with other belligerents. Did the Allies harass, imprison or treat with indignity American citizens at the outbreak of the war? Have the Allies murdered an American citizen or sunk a vessel flying the

American flag? Has a citizen or subject of one of the allied nations been apprehended or even suspected of violating our neutrality laws? Have they held meetings in this country for the purpose of protesting against American laws or policies? Has the Ambassador or other representative of either of the Allies violated diplomatic usages or in any way criticized our foreign policy? There is but one answer to these inquiries. The Allies have done none of these things; the Germans have done all of these things. Ten nations are engaged in this war and every belligerent has an Embassy in this country. If every nation at war had maintained as active a propaganda as Germany has maintained, if the legation of every belligerent had given out as many interviews and done as much talking as the German Ambassador, this country would be in a state of hysteria. What is the trouble with Germany that she needs so many advocates in America? Why have the public activities of the legation been necessary in this country?

Germany's largest colony is in South-West Africa, where she has an area of 320,000 square miles. Her annual expenditures for military purposes in that colony have been not less than 40,000,000 marks (\$10,000,000). The country is a huge military camp, equipped on the most modern and elaborate scale with military roads and a chain of forts and block-houses; all for

the eventual subjugation of South Africa. How different the situation in America, where Great Britain and the United States have a boundary line more than 3,000 miles long without a fort, block-house or military road.

The people of America do not want war ; they are a peace-loving people. They do not want war with Mexico, Germany, nor with any other country. They do not glorify war ; they hesitate even to regard it as a necessary evil. In America as in every other country whose institutions are built on democratic principles, the whole tendency of civilization is to abolish war, and the hope of the peoples of democratic states has been that civilization had so far advanced with the more cultured peoples that war would be reckoned only as a thing of the past. Germanic doctrine and late practices of the German Government have upset the highest ideals of civilization. It is only among a semi-barbaric people that the state is put above the individual. Germany has done this, and to maintain her position, to hold the individual in subjection, militarism is the most efficient, indeed the only effective agency for holding a people in subjection. This primitive conception of government leads quite naturally to the mediæval policy of world domination. This is the spirit of Prussia which dominates Germany to-day. It is opposed to civilization and humanity.

There have been so many incidents in our diplo-

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matic relations with Germany, illustrating the crudeness and lack of ethical standards on the part of the German Government, it would be hard to point out the most striking evidence of German coarseness and intrigue. One incident of some years ago was according to the German standard of bad manners and intrusiveness. In 1908, after Dr. David Jayne Hill had been appointed Ambassador to Berlin, the Kaiser expressed the wish that the President would send Mr. Griscom as Ambassador to Germany.

The *Lusitania*, a British passenger steamer, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine, without warning, off the coast of Ireland. Nearly 2,000 persons were on the steamer, of whom about 1,600 were passengers of all classes. About two-thirds of the total number were drowned, including more than 100 American citizens. Public opinion in this country urged the Government at Washington to act without delay. Our note to Germany, protesting against this ruthless murder of American citizens, was given to the public on May 14. Germany's reply to the American protest was given to the public two weeks later. The note from Germany was regarded as not only very unsatisfactory but inconsiderate and unfriendly. Our second note to Germany on this matter was made public on June 11, having been dispatched to our Ambassador at Berlin in code on the night of June 9. America's

second note was generally regarded as more conciliatory and not so mandatory as the first note.

The country waited thirty days for Germany's reply to our second note ; meanwhile the German propagandists were active with their usual subterfuges and espionage. And their criminal activities during this period culminated in the bomb explosion in the Senate Chamber at Washington, the placing of explosives in trans-Atlantic steamers and the murderous assault on Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. During this period of " watchful waiting " for a definite reply, numerous reports were sent out from Washington and Berlin alleging information touching Germany's policy and the probable answer to our note. Various forecasts were given and these forecasts were about as vacillating and indefinite as America's late foreign policies. According to various reports, Germany suggested an informal discussion of the question at issue preliminary to a formal reply to our note. Finally, after waiting thirty days, Germany sent a reply to our second note. This reply was made public sixty days after the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

After two courteous and " extremely reassuring " notes, after patiently waiting for sixty days, under the humiliation of increasing activities of the German propagandists, directed against American institutions, and exposed to increasing jeopardy of American lives and property under the criminal

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direction of German espionage, we were again subjected to the humiliation of dilatory policies and exposed to the ridicule of the world by the insolence of the German note. The second note from the German Government differed in no material point from the first note. It was characteristic of German subterfuge and craftiness. It was not an answer to America's demands. It was preposterous and offensive, a defiance to the United States; it could be accepted by this country only at a sacrifice of American manhood and dignity. The German newspapers in the United States approved the German note: they never fail to place themselves with America's enemies and against personal liberty and democracy.

Our second note to Germany regarding submarine attacks, without warning, on merchant ships carrying American passengers, was dispatched to Germany on June 9. On June 8, Mr. Bryan tendered his resignation as Secretary of State. In his letter to the President, he said:

"You have prepared for transmission to the German Government a note in which I cannot join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the Cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war."

After his resignation, Mr. Bryan was the principal speaker at a so-called peace meeting

held in Carnegie Hall, New York ; then came the great pro-German demonstration at Madison Square Garden, also called a peace meeting. It is interesting to note that peace meetings in this country are generally under the direction of German propagandists, and the policies of such meetings seem to be directed solely against the Allies ; friends of the Allies in this country do not appear to be very much interested in peace meetings. The cry for peace comes from the friends of the nation that has proclaimed a policy of world domination, boasted of its preparedness and military efficiency and engaged in the most atrocious crimes and vandalism.

It was estimated that there were 25,000 people at the Madison Square Garden " peace meeting," the attendance being far beyond the capacity of the Garden ; but provision was made for overflow meetings. There were " six outdoor speakers on six stands." Like other peace meetings held in this country, the Madison Square meeting was decidedly pro-German. Henry Weismann, head of the United German-American Societies of the State of New York, was chairman of the meeting, " George von Skal made an introductory speech, and other speakers, besides Mr. Bryan," included two pro-German Congressmen and other pro-German propagandists. The presiding German did not fail to maintain the characteristic traitorous and insolent declarations of German propagand-

dists in this country who have been working under the cloak of peace advocates. The following seditious and insulting words from Chairman Weismann well illustrate the feeling and policies of the pro-German peace advocates :

“ ‘ The pulse of the people does not beat in the gilded halls of Washington. The President is surrounded by sycophants on the one hand and by skilled, shrewd, paid agents of our enemies on the other. Here is the interpreter and missionary of this feeling. And now he comes here in person, in his genius and courage, to weather the storm which is coming on the shoulders of this patriot who has come into this German atmosphere ; the storm we must help him bear. . . . ’ A moment later Mr. Weismann mentioned ‘ the miserable little Roosevelt,’ and a storm of hisses and boos interrupted him.”

The slur at Colonel Roosevelt was according to the contemptible practices of the servile German propagandists who, in serving the Kaiser and endorsing his dastardly acts, violate their oath of allegiance and their obligations to society. These hyphenated Americans have not forgotten the interview with Colonel Roosevelt at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, substantially in these words :

“ The sinking of the *Lusitania* was not only an act of simple piracy, but it represented piracy accompanied by murder on a vaster scale than any old-time pirate ever practised before being hanged for his misdeeds.

“ I said that not only our duty to humanity at large, but our duty to preserve our own national self-respect, demanded instant action on our part and forbade all delay.”

None will call in question the statement that

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Mr. Bryan had gotten "into German atmosphere"; one cannot attend a peace meeting in this country without getting "into German atmosphere." It is the business of German espionage and propaganda in America to instigate and direct peace meetings. The Germans want peace of their own making, and their propaganda in America has been in harmony with the diplomatic correspondence of the German Government with America; all working under one direction for the purpose of making a cat's-paw of this country in an effort to open negotiations with the Allies. In the German atmosphere of American peace meetings one is under the influence of German absolutism and militarism, the fanatical *furor Teutonicus*; about as far removed from democracy, the ideals of civilization and American patriotism as he can possibly get. The presence of Mr. Bryan in the "German atmosphere" was emphasized by a full-page picture of the ex-Secretary on the first page of the *Fatherland*, the most virulent anti-American paper published in this country. "Whatever the number of persons in and about Madison Square Gardens, whether 30,000 or 70,000, it was not to men who are Americans in thought and speech that he spoke."¹

"After Mr. Bryan had talked of peace in the Garden, Congressman Volmer addressed the

¹ *The New York Times*,

meeting in an effort to justify the slaughter of Americans on the *Lusitania*." ¹ Strange company for an ex-Secretary of State or any other patriotic or self-respecting citizen of America ; consorting with enemies of the Republic who were accessories to the murder of more than 100 American citizens.

According to a statement published by Mr. Bryan after his resignation, he was guilty of the unprecedented impropriety of having a conversation with the Austrian Ambassador touching the American note to Germany of February 10. The impression was that Mr. Bryan had intimated that our note should not be taken seriously. Our Secretary of State was placed in the embarrassing position of asking the Austrian Ambassador to certify to the German Government as to the correctness of Mr. Bryan's statements. In connection with Mr. Bryan's attitude and policies, and his presence at the pro-German meeting, the following forcible and interesting letter to *The New York Times* from " James M. Taylor, formerly President of Vassar College."

" But on the platform, your columns tell us, was the Austrian Ambassador and the German Naval and Military Attachés and the Turkish Minister. The meeting was called as a protest against the action and attitude of the Administration of the nation to which they are accredited, and yet they attend and accept seats on the platform. They endorse what was meant to be an attack on the President at a meeting where no

¹ *The New York Times*.

man would have been safe who dared propose a cheer for him. . . .

" This has been the spirit of Teutonic diplomacy from the start, abundantly illustrated by von Bernstorff in the initial months of the war, and by Dumba, and many of us are still wondering what has become of the accusations which were made in the papers against Captain Boy-Ed's complicity in various efforts that were, to say the least, undiplomatic. Did we not crowd out a Turkish Minister awhile since for as small a cause as the Austrian diplomat gives us ? Has not our country some dignity at stake which even diplomats are bound to respect ? "

The *Lusitania* was sunk May 7, 1915, and over 100 American citizens lost their lives in the sinking of this merchant vessel by a German torpedo. As stated in our first note to Germany touching this murder of American citizens: " In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas, . . . it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted. "

No one questioned the gravity of the situation, nor was there an American with any respect for his country who did not anxiously await the outcome of our several notes addressed to Germany on this matter. We continued to wait for nearly four months without any assurance of reparation or guarantee against further violation of the rights of American citizens. In the meantime, on

August 19, the White Star liner *Arabic* was torpedoed while bound for New York and passing south of Ireland, not far from where the *Lusitania* was sunk. The *Arabic* carried a crew of 242 and she had 187 passengers ; 18 passengers were lost and 43 of the crew. Among the passengers were 25 American citizens, of whom 2 were lost. The excuse given by Germany for sinking the *Lusitania* was that she carried munitions for the Allies ; the *Arabic* was outward bound from Liverpool, and this excuse would not fit the *Arabic*.

On the evening of September 4 the Allan Line steamer *Hesperian* was attacked without warning by a German submarine off the Irish coast. The *Hesperian* had 350 passengers and a crew of 300 aboard.

The sinking of the *Arabic*, particularly in view of Germany's delay in offering any reasonable explanation or reparation for sinking the *Lusitania*, accentuated the feeling of resentment in America. The expression of public opinion through the newspapers and periodicals indicated a feeling of great dissatisfaction. The President was at his summer home in New Hampshire, and the public was given no information as to what would be the policy of this Government. Finally, when public forbearance had reached the point of breaking, on September 1 the German Ambassador addressed a note to our Secretary of State, from which the following is taken :

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" With reference to our conversation of this morning, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last *Lusitania* note contains the following passage ' Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.' "

This note from the German Ambassador was given to the public on the morning of September 2, and the daily newspapers published this news with great headlines : "*Germany gives a written promise to sink no liners without warning ; Pope begins new move for peace.*" On the same page with the glorious news that " Berlin yields to President ; recognition of fundamental principle of our demands, Lansing asserts," the public was informed that Cardinal Gibbons would call at the White House the following day. Cardinal Gibbons called at the White House, and after a conference with the President he called at the State Department and had a talk with the Secretary of State. The newspapers quoted the following statement from Cardinal Gibbons after his conference with the President :

" The settlement of the questions at issue between Germany and the United States has brought the possibility of peace nearer," said Cardinal Gibbons. " I expressed to the President most decidedly my great gratification over the advantageous conclusion of the discussions with Germany."

Austria is not only the most powerful ally of Germany, but she is also an ancient and the most potential ally of the Papacy. Evidence of German

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intrigue is so patent in this connection that it is painfully superficial. Suggestions of Germany's possible peace terms have invariably been coincident with news from the Papacy or some move through its representative in America, and also with vociferous demonstrations on the part of peace advocates in America.

Ambassador Bernstorff's conciliatory note to Secretary Lansing was written on September 1, Cardinal Gibbons called at the White House on the following day, and two great peace meetings were held in Chicago a few days after these events at Washington, and while we were getting a good deal of news from Rome regarding possible offers of mediation through this country. Mr. Bryan, late Secretary of State, was present at one of the Chicago peace meetings, and made his usual pro-German speech. As usual, the peace meetings were dominated by the pro-Germans, and at one of the meetings of the Friends of Peace, in response to a tribute to von Hindenburg by one of the speakers, the audience of 3,000 made great demonstration by "loud and continued cheering. Hats were waved in the air, and the demonstration was far the biggest of the evening."

A leading American newspaper printed a picture showing a U.S. battleship with the papal ensign above the Stars and Stripes. It is asserted that this sort of thing is not uncommon during divine service on a battleship. But why the

papal ensign ? Just what connection this incident had with Germany's peace overtures coincident with what was regarded as a conciliatory note from Ambassador Bernstorff has not been made quite clear. Nor will this and other incidents in connection with our relations with Germany be made clear and satisfactory to Americans who believe in democratic institutions ; nor will it meet the approval of a very numerous and respectable body of people who believe that the administration of our foreign and domestic affairs should be wholly independent of suggestions or interference by any church.

The putative father of democracy in America was the author of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and on his simple tombstone at Monticello is the inscription that he was the author of that statute and of the Declaration of Independence. In writing about France and the people of that country, for whom he had great admiration, Jefferson said : " A people of the most benevolent and amiable character, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, and yet loaded with misery by kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone." German intrigues and espionage in America are driving us into the conditions observed by Jefferson in France.

The note from Ambassador Bernstorff of September 1, 1915, was received by a number of spineless Americans with apparent ecstasy of joy ;

any sort of crumb from the Kaiser's table is ravenously devoured by a certain class of Americans. The President was congratulated by a large number of newspapers, one leading New York newspaper declaring in an editorial that "the great diplomatic triumph which, with the able and fortunate assistance of Secretary Lansing, he has achieved in the long controversy with Germany is one for which the world will award him great credit, it will bring him high distinction."

Nobody seems to understand the nature of this "great diplomatic triumph." Germany has been the outlaw nation of civilization, and under great stress of circumstances, as shown by coincident events, she was trying to make a cat's-paw of America. To further her purpose she directed her Ambassador in America to address a personal note to our Secretary of State, making a conditional promise not to murder American citizens, as she had formerly done, and coupling that promise with the usual German ambiguity and reservations. It was the promise of an outlaw whose obligation has never been worth the scrap of paper on which it was written; a pledge to discontinue his criminal practices on certain conditions and for certain considerations.

The autocratic and boastful declarations of the German Emperor, the barbarities of the German army, the policies and insolence of the German Government in its diplomatic relations

with this country, as evidenced in its official notes from Berlin and the intrusive insolence of the German Embassy in this country; and, finally, the organization and efficiency, the seditious declarations and criminal acts of the German propagandists, ought to be enough to warn any American of ordinary intelligence. The evidence of things said and done in the "German atmosphere" of pro-German peace advocates goes to show that German espionage in this country is a menace to our institutions. Moreover, let us not forget that the most lawless and vicious communities in America are those where the German population is the strongest; and in these localities German propagandism and un-American sentiment are most virulent and outspoken.

The United States is a sovereign State, not a confederation of German colonies; it is a democracy with republican form of government, and there is no place in this country for the propaganda of absolutism and divine right. Those who are engaged in this propaganda are enemies of the most dangerous class and should be apprehended. Let them go to the country where the Government and its policies are suitable to their servile and barbaric natures. Let them understand that these lines written by Milton many years ago express the American sentiment of to-day:

"If 'tis by God that Kings nowadays reign, 'tis by God too that the People assert their own Liberty."

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CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICA'S DUTY TO CIVILIZATION

DURING the month of January, President Wilson sent a message to the Kaiser congratulating him, "in behalf of the Government and people of the United States," on his birthday, and with wishes for his welfare. These congratulations and good wishes were sent after the world had conclusive evidence of German atrocities in Belgium, after Germany had violated The Hague Convention to which the United States was one of the signatories, and after the Kaiser had declared that "Belgium had been added to the glorious provinces of Germany." Did President Wilson honestly believe that the people of the United States wished the welfare of the German Emperor? The explanation is that the President simply observed a conventionality, an empty and meaningless form observed among rulers of sovereign States. If this be true, why have we heard nothing of congratulations and good wishes to King Albert of Belgium, whose birthday came a little later? "The birthday of the King of the Belgians was devotedly but simply kept by his soldiers in the trenches, his poor scattered refugees

in Paris and England, and no doubt in the strangled hearts of his imprisoned subjects. If our President had any good wishes to offer, that was the occasion when they were due, and when they would have been vociferously seconded by the nation for whom he speaks."¹

In his speech before the Associated Press at New York, the President said: "Our whole duty for the present, at any rate, is summed up in this motto, America first. Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes." Whose friend will America be when the day of "tested friendship comes"? What nation among the belligerents of Europe may not justly say to us in the words of St. John: "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth"?

In the American note of May 13 to the German Government, in which the State Department refers to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, these words are used: "Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the

¹ Mary Ellen Wood in *New York Evening Post*.

seas ; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity."

There is no evidence of " shirt-sleeve diplomacy " in that note ; it would make a Talleyrand blush. It is an insult to the intelligence and self-respect of the American people ; suggestive of the whining sycophancy of a craven nation. It is false from beginning to end, and no sort of diplomatic usage required such untrue and humiliating acknowledgments from this great nation. The American people do not endorse it and they will repudiate it.

America is neither a dependent nor a craven nation. The dilatory and vacillating policy of the present Administration in our foreign relations has not met the demands of the situation, nor the wishes of the people ; but the people do not believe that the President or his advisers are lacking in patriotism or courage. Every vigorous American expression and policy from the President has met with quick and patriotic response from the people of this country. The whole country pledged its loyal support ; the resignation of Mr. Bryan intensified that support. It is therefore unfortunate that any expression from the Administration, or any useless and empty words in our diplomatic correspondence, should suggest a cringing or humiliating attitude.

Let it be said to the credit of the German Government that it has never been pusillanimous nor compromised its self-respect in its foreign relations ; it has been grasping and ruthless, but never fawning or cringing. It has spoken bluntly but fearlessly ; Germany's reply to our notes have contained no unnecessary words. The lines quoted from the American note ought to be printed in the Chicago spelling-book, with the beautiful tribute to the Kaiser and the picture of the State and Federal officials taken on the deck of the German warship, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, to which reference has been made. A picture of the late Secretary of State would be in harmony ; a reproduction of the charges made by Miss Addams against the French and English soldiers would add to the appreciation of the German vandals.

At the beginning of the present war, this country should have taken a firm position as the most powerful of the neutral States. It should have placed itself at the head of a league of neutral nations for the protection of neutral rights and the fulfilment of neutral duties. The United States should have promulgated a plan and invited the active co-operation and support of all neutral nations. It was a great opportunity that seldom comes to any people ; our failure to seize that opportunity was the monumental mistake of this great crisis. We continue to grope along with no definite policy on any question

simply watching and waiting, hoping that some good fortune may come our way. Meanwhile, we are admonished to think of ourselves first and get as much profit as possible from the suffering and sorrows of other less fortunate peoples.

Our humiliating situation is well illustrated in the following editorial from *The New York Evening Post* :

" If it is true that Germany is beginning to hate us more than she hates England, that spirit should be directed against the people of these United States rather than against the Government. Of Mr. Wilson the Kaiser has little reason to complain, and still less of Mr. Bryan. At least the thought occurs, what would the situation be if instead of Mr. Bryan in the State Department we had the late John Hay ? Selections from Hay's unpublished letters now presented by William Roscoe Thayer in *Harper's Magazine* will make unpleasant reading in Berlin. Regarding affairs in China after the Boxer rebellion, the Secretary of State is outspoken when it comes to Germany. To a friend he writes :

" " The success we had in stopping that first preposterous German movement when the whole world seemed likely to join in it, when the entire Press of the Continent and a great many on this side were in favour of it, will always be a source of gratification. The moment we acted, the rest of the world paused, and finally came over to our ground ; and the German Government, which is generally brutal but seldom silly, recovered its senses, climbed down off its perch, and presented another proposition which was exactly in line with our position.' October 16, 1900.

" And some time later to Henry Adams :

" " But it will come. At least we are spared the infamy of an alliance with Germany. I would rather, I think, be the dupe of China than the chum of the Kaiser. Have you noticed how the world will take anything nowadays from a

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German? Buelow said yesterday in substance: "We have demanded of China everything we can think of. If we think of anything else we will demand that, and be damned to you, and not a man in the world kicks." "

The people of the United States ought to realize that they have become the object of almost universal dislike. We have no warm friend in Europe, outside the Belgians who are beholden to us for generous gifts. We have done nothing to make a friend of one of the ten belligerent nations. Our policy of watchful waiting and thinking of America first has aroused the hatred of some and the contempt of others. And we have fewer friends in Mexico than we had a few years ago, and there is less respect for the United States flag in Mexico than for any other flag. After exhausting our policy of "watchful waiting" in that country, we blockaded a port in order to get our flag saluted; the flag was not saluted. We landed our troops to prevent the delivery of a cargo of munitions of war; our troops were not permitted to interfere and the munitions were delivered. The doctrine under which we assumed to exercise any influence in Mexican affairs was declared a "piece of international impertinence" by Germany's greatest statesman; the *de facto* Mexican ruler whom we refused to recognize said some very ugly things about our President and forthwith he was received with honours and as a guest on a German warship.

In the interest of the candidate of the German-American League for United States Senator, the chairman of the executive committee of the political party in control of our national affairs declares that our President is indebted to the candidate of the German organization for his nomination. But with all these concessions and humiliating abnegations we have not made friends with the Germans. They are our bitter enemies. They do not respect us. They respect no nation that is not strong and self-respecting. They are never grateful and always resentful when a nation fails to do all their bidding. Our policy of watchful waiting has been a policy of indecision which has accomplished nothing. The dictum of "America first" has made us no friends in Europe; indeed it is regarded as very narrow and sordid. The suggestion that we may be "too proud to fight" has brought upon us some very severe criticisms; our enemies intimate that it is indicative of a craven spirit which will not command the respect of any country.

The present war is a cataclysm in the history of civilization and the extended sweep of the violent disturbance has shaken the foundations of Christendom. We cannot be indifferent to the consequences of this disaster, nor should we fail to heed the warnings of a life and death struggle between absolutism and democracy. Shall we stand idle before this prospect of wreck and ruin

to our civilization, indifferent to the threatened destruction of the people who are our kin and the institutions from which our civilization has been evolved? Shall we not take heed lest the only barrier between us and the mighty sweep of German vandalism be broken down? The Allies are fighting our battles; they are fighting for the great principles which lie at the foundation of American institutions. Let us show our sympathy with the Allies as evidence of our faith in democratic institutions; let that sympathy be open and frank, the voice of a liberty-loving people.

In words and deeds English-speaking people have shown their sympathy for the oppressed of all races, and during many recent years they have given protection and material aid to those who were engaged in a struggle for humanity and liberty. To Italy, the Balkan States, and Greece, England has extended a helping hand, and it was England's aid that enabled Cavour to drive the Austrians from Italy. Great Britain's concession of practical autonomy to South Africa, before the traces of war had vanished from farm and veldt, aroused the admiration of the civilized world. England has been sincerely sympathetic with democratic struggles in all parts of the world. For more than two hundred years Great Britain has sheltered democracy; for more than two hundred years the principles of representative government have followed the English flag.

Wherever the English flag has appeared the principles of representative government have taken root.

" Take again the attitude of Great Britain during the American War of Secession, and measure it by the Teutonic standard. British sympathies were divided. Even the majority who believed in the Northern cause were filled with admiration for the gallantry of the South. There was a strong party, with the then greatest English statesman at its head, which thought that the Confederate States would achieve their object. There were old antagonisms between the two countries. America was already beginning to prove herself a formidable commercial rival. There was ground of complaint against the Government of Washington in the Mason and Slidell affair ; our consuls had been treated none too well ; Mr. Seward's attitude was unfriendly and his diplomacy awkward and irritating. England might well have taken offence, and France would have been ready to coalesce. General Bernhardt regards it as an ' unpardonable blunder from her point of view ' that England did not seize the opportunity of assisting the seceding States to break up the Union ; thus removing a formidable political and commercial rival from her path. That, apparently, is what Germany would have done ; but what England did was to accept a by no means humble explanation

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and to pay an enormous sum for damage inflicted by the *Alabama*.¹

England has many sins to answer for. Like every other nation, Great Britain has not always shown a scrupulous regard for her obligations, and her greed has sometimes led her too far, but she stands before the world to-day with the oldest and most honourable record as the defender of human rights, the champion of national ethics, and the conservator of democracy and civilization. It has been England's national virtue and England's greatness, more than England's commercial supremacy, that has aroused the hatred of Germany. We have read, when a clownish fellow approached Aristides, not knowing him, asked that his name be written on the sherd of ostracism, Aristides was surprised and asked if he had ever done him injury. "None at all," said he, "neither know I the man; but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'the just.'" When the elder Pitt, "the great commoner," was pleading the cause of the American colonists when "men, women and children of Boston, high and low, joined in the chorus: 'Pitt and liberty,'" the petty States of the Holy Roman Empire were in the embryo of nationality, and the German people were listening to chikadee stories in the kindergarten of civilization.

¹ "The World in the Crucible," Parker.

We have been told that Germany is jealous of England's naval supremacy, but we know that England's naval supremacy existed before Germany had emerged from the limitations of her tribal communities, long before the German people dreamed they were capable of maintaining a navy. France and America are more exposed to attack from the sea than Germany, but neither of these countries has gone into a state of hysteria about the growth of England's navy. Another ridiculous and undignified position taken by Germany is that England is jealous of Germany's trade expansion. There has been no more occasion for England's being jealous of German trade than American trade, and England has put no more stumbling blocks in the way of German trade than she has put in the way of American trade. America and France have been in active competition with England in the South American trade and with English colonies. Since the beginning of the present war, the United States has been "looking around pretty smartly," doing "her level best" to pick up all the trade she can find. Systematic work has been undertaken by our merchants and manufacturers to secure a large portion of the South American trade which has been wholly lost to Germany and temporarily and partly lost to England and France. We anticipate no war as a result of our merchants and manufacturers seeking new fields for trade, and we have

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not heard that their efforts have aroused any bitterness in France or England.

England has other rivals for the world's trade. America has been a very formidable rival, and there have been many delicate and grave questions, involving our trade relations, which we have been called upon to settle with England. Sometimes we have thought she was grasping and unreasonable, but for more than one hundred years we have been able to find a peaceable and honourable settlement of all our difficulties.

The world, and America in particular, owes much to France. She has given freely of her best blood for the cause of humanity, and the wisdom of her statesmen has guided and directed all peoples in search of human liberty. Her science has mitigated human suffering and prolonged life, her art has made the world more beautiful and delightful to live in, and her literature has amused and entertained, and it has instructed and mellowed mankind in all parts of the civilized world.

It has been said that the destinies of France "have been moulded by men's love for women," and that "nature bred a type of women fit to mate with the imaginative man." The brave and beautiful of France are united for self-preservation; they stand at Armageddon to meet the mighty hordes of German vandals who "have a gross enjoyment of their food" and who are

"insolent to their wives and women they do not know." The world stands aghast at the dangers that beset the French and their institutions. This is the France that has been invaded by the vandals who are "petty, dictatorial and inconsiderate," who are "insolent to their wives and women they do not know and who have a gross enjoyment of their food." All lower animals appear to "have a gross enjoyment of their food."

Shall we remain silent and indifferent to the dangers that beset France? Have we forgotten Lafayette and Rochambeau? Have we forgotten the story of the dramatic scene when, with Franklin and John Adams, "Voltaire was solemnly received by the French Academy and philosophic France gave the right hand of fellowship to America as its child of adoption"? The historian says: "Many causes combined to procure the alliance of France and the American Republic; but the force which brought all influences harmoniously together, overruling the timorous levity of Maurepas and the dull reluctance of Louis XVI., was the moment of intellectual freedom. The spirit of free inquiry penetrated the Catholic world as it penetrated the Protestant world."¹

Shall we here in America surrender de Tocqueville and adopt Bernhardt? Shall we cease to tell our children the story of Danton, Rouget

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft.

de L'isle and Madame Roland? Shall we no longer arouse the idealism and quicken the lofty aspiration of our children with Chateaubriand and Rousseau? Shall we tell them that Nietzsche builded better than Hugo and that Bernhardt is greater than Thiers? Is the mighty War Lord of Germany a more learned, a wiser or better ruler than that gentle and beloved man of the people, President Poincaré?

The present afflictions of the Belgians are the result of no aggression, infringement or encroachment on their part. They are the innocent victims sacrificed in a ruthless breach of the most sacred obligation which a nation can enter into, an obligation which has been held to be the supreme law of a sovereign State. Belgium is small in area but large in history. It has been said that "Thermopylæ had her messenger of defeat; the Alamo had none." And Belgium has "done more than prove her own loyalty to her plighted word and her treaty obligations; she has aroused the conscience of mankind, she has kindled a torch that will not be extinguished." The Belgians did not think of Belgium first, nor did they stop to consider what the sacrifice would be. They thought only of their honour and humanity; they saved both. *They* were not "too proud to fight"; they were too brave to sacrifice

¹ "The World in the Crucible," Parker.

humanity. Their courage made possible the preservation of democracy in France, Holland, England and America ; these countries can never pay the great debt they owe Belgium for the sacrifices she made to save the world from German vandalism.

" The temptation to yield to Germany's demand for a free passage was not slight. The Flemings were of Teutonic blood ; the Walloons were offended by the policy of France towards the Church to which they were passionately attached ; throughout the country was a strong Socialist Party with a leaning towards anti-militarism. Great Britain, by her criticism of Congo administration, had lost some of her former popularity. The people had become addicted to the arts of peace ; they knew by old tradition how terrible war could be though they were still unconscious of the depths of infamy which it could reach. By submission they could purchase tranquillity and they could make large gains. They were promised that their territorial integrity and independence should be respected, and that they should get generous compensation for any injury they might sustain.

" And they refused. They refused it before war began, and they refused it twice after it began. They did not balance ; they did their duty ; they kept the faith. The words of the Belgian reply will ring in the aisles of Time until there is no more Time at all.

" Belgium has always remained faithful to her international obligations ; she has fulfilled her duties in a spirit of loyal impartiality ; she has left nothing undone in order to maintain or to secure respect of her neutrality. The attack upon her independence with which the German Government threatens Belgium would constitute a flagrant violation of International Law. No strategic interest justifies the violation of that Law. If the Belgian Government accepted the proposals which are put forward in the German Note, it would sacrifice

the honour of the nation, and would, at the same time, betray its trust towards Europe.

"We know the sequel, its cruelty, its horror, its barbarism. The world shudders, and through long years it will shrink from the thought of what this little country has suffered from being true to her trust. She has, however, done more than prove her own loyalty to her plighted word and her treaty obligations; she has aroused the conscience of mankind, she has kindled a torch that will not be extinguished."¹

"Oh! if I were an Englishman," said Cavour "by this time I should be something, and my name would not be wholly unknown!" Meanwhile, he studied abroad the institutions he desired for his own country, particularly the English parliamentary system. Night after night he sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, seeking to make himself thoroughly familiar with its modes of procedure.²

"'Cavour,' said Lord Palmerston, 'left a name to point a moral and adorn a tale.' The moral was that a man of transcendent talent, industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic, in the annals of the world. A people who had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it, and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny."³

The Italians have not forgotten Cavour; nor have they forgotten Mazzini. "Young Italy

¹ "The World in the Crucible," Parker.

² "Europe Since 1815," Hazen.

that made new Italy has come again to save the institutions upon which new Italy was built. The Germanic policies of Metternich and the cruel domination of Austria had left an impression on Italy which could not be effaced ; over which German subterfuge and Austrian duplicity could not prevail. Italy waited a long time, but the spirit of Garibaldi finally triumphed and Italy joined the Allies in the common cause of humanity. She is where she ought to be ; with England and France who befriended her when she needed a friend.

So long as the Belgian, Dutch and French coasts of the Channel remain under the control of those countries, England and America are safe ; had Germany gotten control of these coasts, neither England nor America would have been safe. This, then, is the situation which every American should understand and appreciate. There is neither honour nor virtue in neutrality. The better impulses of man urge him to give expression to his sympathies and ideals. The wiser and better things in the world's history have been said and done by positive characters ; there has been nothing humane nor constructive in neutrality. The world has never had any admiration for the priest and the Levite who saw the wounded traveller from Jericho and passed by on the other side. The Samaritan did not think of himself first, he thought of the poor traveller who had been robbed and wounded, and the world has been

thinking of that Samaritan ever since the story was told. Christ had no respect for the negative character. He selected positive characters to illustrate strong points. The parable of the ten talents well illustrated in what contempt the Master held the negative character who buried his talent. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciusko and Pulaski were not "too proud to fight" it was well for America that these patriots thought of humanity first.

The reign of law is the ideal of civic progress. "The fundamental basis of the world's progress in civilization has ever been the struggle for the final supremacy of the law—the substitution of the restraints of law for the lawlessness of individual desire and ambition—and the extension of this principle from the individual to nations is justly regarded as the supreme hope and, in so far as it has been achieved, the crowning triumph. Yet what shall all these labours, hopes and achievements avail if any member of the great family of nations may, whenever it deems itself unduly restricted in the pursuit of its individual purposes by the obligations which it has voluntarily assumed, cast aside as a 'mere scrap of paper' its most solemn covenant and return once more to the unbridled licence of the cave man and the robber baron."¹ This is the great menace to civilization.

¹ Judge William E. Church,

tion presented by Germany's attitude in this war.

The issue is clear and unmistakable ; it is the eternal struggle between might and right. America was involved from the moment the neutrality of Belgium was violated. It is not a conflict between armies, nor indeed between nations ; it is between autocracy and democracy, between barbarism and civilization. There is no middle course for America. If we entertain pirates and conspirators, if we connive at arson, murder, rape and piracy, if we submit to indignities and insults under the plea that we are too proud to fight, we shall find that those who fought for their homes and country will be too proud to sit at the council-table with us. If we think of ourselves first, we shall find that those who thought of humanity first will think of us last.

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